THE NATION

MAY 27, 1961 . . 25c

Campus Report No. 4

REBELS WITH a HUNDRED CAUSES

I. The Indignant Generation *Jessica Mitford Treuhaft*

II. Rise and Fall of the Beats *Tim A. Ross*

III. The Conservative Ripple *Alan C. Elms*

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Tax on Advertising

Dear Sirs: I am entirely in sympathy with Peter Dorner's proposal for a tax on advertising (*The Nation,* May 13). Though I differ in some small respects with his reasoning, I find his conclusions and recommendations worthy of the utmost consideration.

My own study of advertising, published in 1958, pointed to the principle of such a tax. Dorner spells it out better than I have ever seen it done.

OTIS PEASE
Department of History
Stanford University
Stanford, Calif.

Dear Sirs: Peter Dorner's article suggests that advertising be taxed by the indirect method of limiting the amount of advertising expenditures that could be deducted as business expenses in calculating a company's profits for federal income-tax purposes. The economic and social implications of this proposal are best left to other critics, but there are some legal points on which I should like to comment.

To begin with, Mr. Dorner proposes a tax on advertisers rather than communications media in order to avoid the Constitutional questions of freedom of speech and press. This approach is based on a misunderstanding. Communications media must pay their way in taxes like other businesses. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld a gross-receipts tax on the sale of advertising space. Free-speech problems arise only when the tax has the effect of limiting the dissemination of information, as when Huey Long put a bill through the Louisiana Legislature imposing a gross-receipts tax on the advertising revenue of periodicals with a circulation of more than 20,000 copies per week, thus neatly hitting only the larger newspapers which had the courage to oppose him editorially. That tax was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

More fundamentally, no tax can be arbitrary or discriminatory; the classifications it establishes must be reasonable or it will violate a different part of the Constitution that has nothing to do with freedom of speech or the press. Mr. Dorner indicates some appreciation of this problem when he says, "the legislation would have to be specially adapted to each industry." But that is only the bare beginning. What system could be devised to deal fairly with the new company just starting out to market an invention that consumers had never heard about, the company that sells only to industrial users rather than to the general public, the company that invests much of its income in new product research, the company whose profit margin is low because of energetic competition, etc., etc.?

Mr. Dorner believes that "excessive" advertising expenditures should be disallowed. Not only would it be difficult as a matter of administration to establish a method of determining this elusive characteristic, but it might also turn out to be a legal impossibility under the Constitutional guarantee of equality of treatment for all under the law.

New York City SIDNEY A. DIAMOND

Algeria and Cuba

Dear Sirs: Your editorial of May 6 stressed a legal point: that with intervention in Cuba the CIA "has broken international conventions." Never in Alexander Werth's treatment of, nor in your editorials on, Algeria has that legal point been mentioned. Is it not also applicable to Tunis and Morocco, which provide bases and supply depots for the FLN, as well as to Egypt and Russia, which are broker and client in the venture? It is thinkable that with Werth, who is not quite clever enough to conceal his orientation, the neglect could be deliberate; and that with the editors of *The Nation* the assymetry comes from a romantic indifference to the developing oil realities of the Mediterranean.

Sarasota, Fla. ELLIS FREEMAN

The editorial in question cited the breaking not only of "international conventions" but also of "domestic statutes." In this connection, it is interesting that 125 American judges, lawyers and law-school faculty members recently signed an "open letter" to President Kennedy and the U.S. Attorney General, charging that the recruitment of Cuban rebel military personnel on our shores, and the help given the rebels by the U.S. Government, were in direct violation of Sections 956, 959 and 960 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code, otherwise known as the Neutrality Laws.

Neither Morocco nor Tunisia, to our knowledge, has any such laws.—EDITORS.

Luck by the Yard?

Dear Sirs: I read Mary M. Grooms's article, "A Revolt Against Shelters" [May 13] with great interest and admiration. She is to be congratulated, not only on the clear, concise logic of her statements, but also on the moral courage she displays in speaking up on this issue in so conservative a community.

My wonder is that there are people in high places who profess to believe that shelters are desirable and practicable. Can they really be so shortsighted and unimaginative, or do they regard having a shelter in the backyard like having a rabbit's foot in the pocket—something to ward off evil?

MAUDE H. BARUCH
New York City

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

449 ●

ARTICLES

Campus Report No. 4: REBELS WITH A HUNDRED CAUSES

451 ● Part 1: The Indignant Generation
by JESSICA MITFORD TREUHAFT

456 ● Part 2: Rise and Fall of the Beats
by TIM A. ROSS

458 ● Part 3: The Conservative Ripple
by ALAN C. ELMS

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

461 ● Things Are Very Far Away
by JONATHAN WILLIAMS

462 ● Background to Chaos
by HENRY L. BRETTON

462 ● Unlike Music (poem)
by EDWARD DORN

465 ● Cold Ash
by GEORGE STEINER

466 ● Records
by LESTER TRIMBLE

467 ● Theatre
by HAROLD CLURMAN

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 468)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Harold Clurman, Theatre
Maurice Grosser, Art
M. L. Rosenthal, Poetry
Lester Trimble, Music

Alexander Werth, European Correspondent

Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, May 27, 1961. Vol. 192. No. 21

The Nation published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1961 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. *Tel: CH 2-8400.*

Subscription Price Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three Years $20. Additional postage per year. Foreign $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1961
VOLUME 192, No. 21

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

High Noon in Vienna

It is high noon, and down the center of the empty *Karntnerstrasse* — its fancy shops and coffeehouses are closed, shoppers and sightseers are clustered in tense knots behind barred windows — comes Cool Jack Kennedy, the quickest draw in Washington. Toward him advances a short, squat, gimlet-eyed character, the terror of the Volga, who has been talking mighty loud lately about Cool Jack, but is now about to get his comeuppance. . . .

That's the image conjured up by the journalistic treatment given the forthcoming Summit meeting. "President Will Stand Up to Reds," trumpets the New York *Herald Tribune*. One commentator, who must have been thinking of Bat Masterson, says the President will "lay it on the line." *Newsweek* reports Cool Jack will say, in effect, "Don't push too far." One would never dream, reading this stuff, that the conference had been initiated as long ago as December, or that careful diplomatic spadework both in Moscow and Washington had paved the way for the meeting.

But an even sharper contrast is to be found between the "high noon" quality of the stories and the undercurrent of comment in them to the effect that pressures for such a meeting have been growing apace (*Newsweek*, May 22). If the purpose of the conference is to enable the President to exhibit his steely resolve, then what have pressures to do with it? Yet pressures there are — from our allies as well as from neutral and many soon-to-be-neutral countries; and not the least compelling among them — although one which will not be acknowledged in Moscow any more than it will be in Washington — is the striking parallelism of certain vital interests of both countries. Today the United States and the Soviet Union are the two leading "have" nations of the world. Each has its full quota of wealth and power — "living space," in a word — which it does not share with the other and would prefer not to share too freely with outsiders. "Have not" nations have little in common save their poverty and their envy; but the pressure of a common concern with the pre-eminence which each of the two leading "have" nations occupies in its respective sphere draws them together, the more so since there are no other "have" nations of comparable magnitude. Of course the fact that one of the dominant powers is "communistic" and the other "capitalistic" makes it awkward for them to acknowledge their basic similarity of interest and extremely difficult to reach public understandings which safeguard this interest. But the parallelism is unmistakable.

The Moment of Truth

Can it be that military aid, the chief bulwark of freedom since 1948, has come to the end of the road? In few countries have we dispensed military aid more lavishly than in South Korea. With its supporting services, the South Korean Army totals 600,000 men, in a country of 22 million. It is American-trained, American-financed and, until a few days ago, it was thought, for all intents and purposes, to be American-commanded. Hardly anyone imagined that the South Korean Army would take action of any kind without the permission of the *de facto* governor general, Gen. Carter Magruder, U.S.A. Yet now the South Korean military have staged a revolution against the elected government, to the angry amazement of General Magruder and his superiors in Washington. Communism has been kept at bay at the 38th Parallel, but the billions in military aid we have dispensed in South Korea have not secured the loyalty of the South Korean Army.

South Vietnam is an equally melancholy exhibit. Here the Army numbers 150,000, and it cannot cope with guerrillas numbering 12,000. On his mission of dispensing largesse in South Asia, Lyndon B. Johnson has promised to increase the Ngo Dinh Diem military force by another 20,000. If the ratio remains the same, the guerrillas will need to put only another 1,500 men into the field and everything will be as before, if not worse.

Military assistance looks pretty good in South Vietnam and South Korea, however, when we examine the distant shahdom of Iran, where freedom has been contending with totalitarianism since before the end of World War II. Iran, with only about 20 million population, is in a sense a rich country, with an income of $300

MAY 26 '61

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million annually in hard currency from oil revenues. Yet it is on the verge of bankruptcy and has had to put the bite on Uncle Sam for another $70 million, in addition to previous handouts. Its government is in debt to the tune of $500 million, compared with $10 million in 1955. Here also, Uncle Sam's military aid has been generous. The Army numbers 200,000 and the police force is enormous. The Army alone consumes 40 per cent of the national budget. Since taxes on the rich are negligible, the wealth is not spread around and the people are restive. What Senator Hubert Humphrey said a few days ago should not, under the circumstances, come as a complete surprise: "Do you know what the head of the Iranian Army told one of our people? He said the Army was in good shape, thanks to U.S. aid — it was now capable of coping with the civilian population. That Army isn't planning to fight the Russians. It's planning to fight the Iranian people."

Mutatis mutandis—that seems to be what is wrong with U.S. military aid everywhere.

War Below the Belt

Washington, according to practically all the Washington correspondents, is fascinated by the term "paramilitary"; many statesmen, military experts and cocktail party luminaries see in paramilitary operations the dawn of a new day. If we can't win the cold war in one way, we'll win it in another. Subversion, infiltration, undeclared warfare will be the salvation of the West. The advantages are obvious. Paramilitary war is non-nuclear. It is inexpensive. It is dirty — and why shouldn't we use dirty methods against the dirty Communists? It will save the CIA. And it will put an end to humiliating defeats: paramilitary operations being more or less secret, the operatives can always be disavowed if they fail.

Apparently paramilitary warfare has passed out of the discussion stage and is soon to be put to the test. "Without going into secret details," writes Henry Gemmill in *The Wall Street Journal* (May 16), "indications can be reported that at least one such maneuver is being blueprinted at the moment, for execution in a vital nation distant from Cuba." *The Nation* hopes that the President will not accuse us of giving secret information to the enemy if we guess, out loud, that Mr. Gemmill is talking about South Vietnam.

Of course, in any form of warfare, disadvantages must be recognized, and some defeatists in Washington are not yet jumping on the paramilitary bandwagon. The squeamish dislike hearing "honorable men of high rank" — to quote Mr. Gemmill again — calmly discussing the advisability of, for example, methodical assassination of Communist leaders abroad. They may be the more repelled by this tactic because the Communists, contrary to a widespread impression, are opposed to assassination as a tactic; they feel it is too individualistic. But this objection does not lie against subversion, infiltration, sabotage, terror, mob action and other paramilitary techniques. And then, it may be asked by the honorable men who are brainstorming these matters, what have the squeamish to offer? Do they propose to let communism sweep the world?

There may, however, be some practical arguments against the wonderful new methods, even if it is agreed that moral and legal objections should be discarded. It does seem retrogressive for the most advanced of the technological powers to be going back to rather primitive devices, in which only a few people can be killed at a time, when twenty-megaton bombs are available. It is a little like a decathlon champion playing jacks. He might not be as good at it as the kids, either, for they, after all, have been playing jacks while he was tossing the discus. Can we ever match the Communists in a field in which they have so many years of experience and we are just starting? "By any realistic assessment," writes Mr. Gemmill, "it would seem that if America tries to step up undercover competition with the Soviet, it must count on a 'paramilitary gap' that will make the 'missile gap' look trivial by comparison." A still more serious question is whether, in the name of democracy, it is logical to slay democracy. The paramilitary method involves nothing less. The easy-going, unmilitaristic American must of course be kept in the dark; schooled in the outworn shibboleths of government of the people, etc., he would never understand. And if the native population in the country where the venture is undertaken should chance to side with the enemies' guerrillas instead of our own, it would be necessary to be paramilitary with them, too. All in all, paramilitary wars may turn out to contain even more hidden headaches than the conventional variety.

Space Rates

When the chosen astronaut, Commander Shepard, rose slowly in his capsule atop the Redstone rocket on May 5, the prayers of millions of Americans went with him. When he descended safely, the millions thanked God. But there was another aspect to the gallant venture of the sub-orbitnaut — a more realistic term, since the nearest star is roughly 24 billion miles away and the Commander flew some 400 miles. (By the same token, Gagarin was an "orbitnaut," not a "cosmonaut.") Among the well-wishers were a few who not only had their hearts on his success, but their money on his nose. After the exploit, they collected.

They were the advertisers. Their self-congratulations could not be missed; they were in practically all the great metropolitan newspapers and some of the mass weeklies, even, in one case, in a monthly. Among the "me-too participants," as *Advertising Age* unkindly refers to them, were McDonnell Aircraft; B. F. Goodrich

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Co.; Shell Oil; Chrysler Corp.; Northrop Corp.; Allis-Chalmers; North American Aviation; Radio Corp. of America; Minneapolis Honeywell; and Sperry Rand. And Macy's. Macy's connection may have seemed a bit tenuous, but the store took a full page in *The New York Times* to salute this "achievement of the human spirit and the human mind" and to promise that "just as Macy's had more bustles to choose from when women wore bustles, we'll have more space suits when there's a space suit in every wardrobe."

All this took a little preparation. Goodrich, for instance, had space-suit advertising waiting at twenty-eight newspapers and four magazines, contingent, of course, on Commander Shepard's not being drowned, burned or asphyxiated. Later there was a rush to cash in, *ex post facto*, but this was frustrated by an unfeeling government. Commander Shepard and his fellow astronauts were asked to endorse everything from watches to trains, but their lawyer refused all offers. The only commercial venture in which they will engage is the $500,000 contract with *Life* for publication of their experiences.

Naturally, on a big occasion like this there were a few lesser mishaps. One sorehead in the industry even objected to using the astronauts for tie-in purposes at all. A "Roman holiday," he called it. He caviled in particular at the Sperry ad. "We are sure," the ad read, "our customers and fellow manufacturers, as well as all Americans, share with us this sincere expression of congratulations and sense of accomplishment." Up on top, in much bigger type, there was this: "Congratulations, Commander Allen B. Shepard, Jr." "Don't they even bother to find out what the man's name is?" the critic rasped. "It's *Alan*."

CAMPUS REPORT No. 4

REBELS WITH a HUNDRED CAUSES

The mind of youth has always been a challenge to the adult who would read it, and never more so than today. Student participation in the sit-ins, in peace walks, in protests against ROTC and HUAC, in the struggle to maintain freedom of the campus press, points to a radicalism reminiscent of the thirties. But there are observers who profess to read a campus swing not to the Left, but to the Right — an upsurge of conservatism marked by the growth of conservative clubs and Barry Goldwater supporters on campuses from coast to coast.

The time seems ripe, then, for another of The Nation's *periodic investigations* into campus thinking. The reader of this issue will find, we think, that such campus radicalism as exists has little relation to that of the thirties (see Jessica Mitford Treuhaft's "The Indignant Generation"), and that the "turn to the Right" is not quite so sweeping as* Time, *for instance, would have its readers believe (see "The Conservative Ripple," by Alan C. Elms). The report is completed by Tim A. Ross's discussion, in "Rise and Fall of the Beats," of another phenomenon of today's youth.*—EDITORS.

*"The Careful Young Men: Tomorrow's Leaders Analyzed by Today's Teachers," March 9, 1957; "The Class of '58 Speaks Up," May 17, 1958; "Tension Beneath Apathy: the Myth of the Bland Generation," May 16, 1959. Also "The Students Take Over," by Kenneth Rexroth, July 2, 1960.

I. The Indignant Generation . . *by Jessica Mitford Treuhaft*

"THE EMPLOYERS will love this generation, they are not going to press many grievances. . . . They are going to be easy to handle. There aren't going to be any riots." Buried somewhere in a 1959 publication of the American Council on Education reporting a conference on the college student, this prophecy by Clark Kerr, President of the University of California, today has a curiously outdated ring. A few scattered signposts on a number of campuses, including his own, might even then have suggested a qualification of this flat judgment; in any event, shortly before Commencement of the following year, San Francisco Bay Area newspapers exploded with the news, STUDENTS RIOT AT HOUSE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE HEARING. Of the fourteen hospitalized and sixty-odd arrested that day and the thousands who subsequently demonstrated against the committee (the *San Francisco Chronicle* estimated 5,000), the majority were from the University of California's Berkeley campus.

In the welter of charges and countercharges, praise and censure that followed, one fact emerged: the current crop of students had gone far to shake the label of apathy and conformity that had stuck through the fifties. What started this campus

JESSICA MITFORD TREUHAFT, author of Daughters and Rebels, *an autobiography (Houghton Mifflin), has commented extensively on campus activities for West Coast newspapers.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dynamism? Did it herald the development of a genuine student movement?

Any exploration of trends among students must first be hedged with some obvious qualifications. The University of California students who have been making headlines are a small minority of the 21,800 gestating in the capacious womb of that vast alma mater. The amount of support that the minority is able to muster fluctuates widely, depending on the issue. The student community and its organizations are by their nature in a constant state of change; not only is there a total turnover every few years, but each individual youngster is at a unique time of life, undergoing his own particular metamorphosis from adolescence to adulthood. Generalizations about the political views held by students are particularly fraught with the danger of over-simplification, for students, in this area as in others, are the most prone to change in a changing world.

Nevertheless, there is a continuity, however tenuous it may appear. Each campus has its internal history, shaped to a large extent by surrounding circumstances and developing within the context of its particular locale. Trends at the University of California are mirrored in varying degrees elsewhere in the country.

THE tradition of student radicalism, in California as elsewhere at its strongest in the thirties, was maintained at best sporadically with the coming of World War II. Student life and its political aspects were disrupted and obscured during the war years. A brief postwar flare-up of activity around Henry Wallace's 1948 campaign for the Presidency soon subsided, and for almost ten years was followed by an eerie, unyouthful silence that gave some of the older generation the creeps.

Nevertheless, many faculty members, long familiar with the genus student, believe that they never were as uniformly passive as generally believed. Professor Nevitt Sanford of the Psychology Department pointed out that it was convenient for many years to lump the students together as "cautious, passive, indifferent." Actually, he recalled, in 1950, the year of the University of California loyalty oath, 5,000 undergraduate signatures were obtained in support of the non-signing professors. The head of steam that was generated over this issue was dissipated not so much by "student apathy" as by the unseemly capitulation of some of their elders. Thus a professor vowed to a mass meeting of students that never, as long as he lived, would he sign the despicable oath—or any similar oath; the following week he meekly threw in the sponge and signed.

THE years immediately following imposition of the loyalty oath saw considerable disruption of the university, an emigration to other institutions by many liberal faculty leaders, and a corresponding exodus of their students. Dr. Leonard Wolf of the English Department at San Francisco State College, who was an undergraduate at U.C. at the time, recalls: "The university suffered generally from a clobbered feeling. The apathy came down from above. As somebody said of the faculty and students of those days, 'It was a case of the bland leading the bland.'"

A factor that contributed to damping down any form of political high jinks during those years was the enormous enrollment, up until the late fifties, of service veterans. "The Korean War produced many more vets than you'd think," said Henry Nash Smith, Chairman of the English Department. "These fellows figured they'd already lost a few years out of their lives, and all they wanted was peace and quiet, time to catch up. A lot of them were married men with family responsibilities. Today, for the first time in years, we're seeing a generation of youngsters who have what we might term 'normal' youthful reactions to the world around them."

After the losing battle over the loyalty oath, holding operations of sorts persisted at the University of California, despite the distinctly unfavorable political climate of the McCarthy period. Such activity as there was revolved around Stiles Hall, the campus YMCA, which became an informal meeting place for campus liberals. There were Students to Combat McCarthyism and various social action committees for peace and civil rights — evidence that the liberal spirit never quite died out.

IT WAS not until 1957—coincidentally the year of McCarthy's death —that any sign of "normal youthful reactions" appeared. The stated issue was "a meaningful alternative to the *status quo*"; the vehicle, a crusading political party called SLATE.

The story of how SLATE came into being is told in the now yellowing pages of 1957-58 editions of the *Daily Californian,* minutes of meetings of those days and copies of mimeographed leaflets once distributed in the thousands. These documents still breathe with the freshness and sense of urgency that mark a cause undertaken with great conviction and high hopes. In the fall elections of 1957, six students formed a slate (hence the name of the organization) pledged to combat what they called "sandbox politics" — a derisive reference to the limited activities of the entrenched student government—and to fight for student participation in national and international affairs. They adopted electoral tactics in keeping with their militant program; for the first time in years, leaflets, petitions, open-air mass meetings were introduced on campus, and the election took place in a storm of controversy. The slate went down to electoral defeat, but when all the smoke had cleared away, it was evident they could chalk up some significant accomplishments. The *Daily Californian,* which had raged against the six insurgents editorially, summed it up: "We have often, in print, disagreed with . . . SLATE and the way they go about things. In fact, we still disagree with them. But we must give SLATE some credit—they have turned this into a real election in which real issues are being debated." The unprecedented interest in the election was reflected in a total vote almost twice as large as usual, of which SLATE candidates received 35-40 per cent.

The ebb and flow of SLATE's fortunes in subsequent years are pretty typical of such organizations. Its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dues-paying nucleus remained tiny —from 150 to 200. Yet its effectiveness as gadfly, pricking into the open issues long smothered under indifference, was considerable, and far out of proportion to its actual numerical strength. Action committees, some affiliated with SLATE and some independent, sprang into being: Students for Civil Liberties, Students for Racial Equality, Utopians for Political Action. From time to time, although infrequently, SLATE candidates were elected to office—on one occasion to the presidency of the student government. The *Daily Californian* reflected these developments; from being a relatively dull publication reporting the usual campus social and sports events, it became a turbulent forum for thrashing out issues and tactics.

No doubt the great majority of students remained unmoved by SLATE's activities, and many were hostile. Yet its vociferous and insistent presence on campus did contribute to a new interest in minority viewpoints, a new tolerance for unorthodoxy. This was vividly demonstrated by student reaction to the surprisingly effective one-man hunger strike staged in the fall of 1959 by Fred Moore, a freshman, son of a Virginia colonel, against compulsory ROTC. Some 7,000 signatures supporting Moore's position were gathered on the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses of the university.

EVENTS of early 1960 added a new dimension to the growing student desire to do something about the problems of the world. The example of student militancy elsewhere—Korea, Japan, the Middle East—had an impact. More important, the student conscience was deeply stirred by two events closer to home which, as one expressed it, "illuminate the hollow cynicism of the prevailing morality": the agonizing cat-and-mouse proceedings which led to Caryl Chessman's execution, and the Southern sit-ins. It was on these issues that students moved over from polite protest by petition into direct action—the "non-violent direct action" that was to become their hallmark. Hundreds of California students embraced Chessman's cause as their own, demonstrating in a series of all-night vigils outside San Quentin's walls. The sit-in movement—with its clear-cut goals and the simplicity of the Negro students' form of protest—had an impact the strength of which is hard to measure. University of California students were among the first of Northern college groups (now estimated at over 130) to dash into action with a supporting picket line organized by the Congress of Racial Equality around the Berkeley Woolworth's.

With several hundred students already involved in various sorts of political protests, it is hardly surprising that they swung around to meet a new challenge when an eighteen-year-old University of California sophomore and a number of local school teachers were among those subpoenaed for the 1960 hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (The HUAC was already in unusually hot water in the Bay Area, for the year before it had subpoenaed 110 California schoolteachers for a hearing on "communism in education," only to call it off in the face of unprecedented community opposition.)

The people under subpoena were an odd miscellany, including Communist Party leaders, housewives, workers, lawyers, teachers—a mixed bag. In any event, for the students organizing the protest line, the question of whether those subpoenaed were or were not Communists was supremely beside the point. As they saw it, here was one more "moral issue" to be joined, this time involving the right of a Congressional committee to swoop down upon assorted John Does and grill them about their political views.

Two weeks before the hearings, SLATE called an informal meeting on campus, attended by fifty students, to map the form of protest: a picket line and demonstration outside San Francisco's City Hall. Demonstrators were asked to follow principles established by the Southern sit-ins: non-violence, strict obedience to orders of the monitors, no retorts to provocation by hecklers. From that first meeting, interest mushroomed, given an able assist by many faculty members who welcomed this new concern with national issues. Within days, 2,000 signatures were collected at the university on a petition calling for cancellation of the hearings and abolition of HUAC; liberal groups on other campuses were alerted to join the picket line; an Episcopal canon and two state assemblymen agreed to address the demonstration; the *Daily Californian* exhorted its readers to attend the hearings.

The majority of the 1,000 students who flocked to San Francisco's City Hall on the first two days of the hearings were more or less antagonistic to the committee. But many others came out of curiosity. There was by no means uniform hostility toward the committee, nor uniform sympathy for the witnesses.

AT THE moment of the clash with police something changed, and the results of that change are likely to be evident among the students for a long time to come.

It must be remembered that several hundred were soaked to the skin, dragged or shoved bodily down a long flight of steps, and that in the indiscriminate hosing, clubbings and arrests that followed many neutral observers were swept up. In the course of this, all neutrality vanished, to be replaced with a hot, sustained anger still evident in those who witnessed the events. One of the merely curious who was hosed and arrested and returned the next day to join the protest commented ruefully, "I was a political virgin, but I was raped on the steps of City Hall."

A choosing-up of sides in the community at large was inevitable and immediate. Bay Area newspapers, even those that had opposed the hearings, on the whole chastised the students for rowdy behavior. People closer to the picture tended to support the rebellious students. Eighty-four Stanford professors expressed a view widely held in faculty circles throughout the area: "Our understanding of the evidence leads us to declare that, contrary to a wide misinterpretation in the press, the demonstration was for the most part a responsible protest by mature college students against what they deeply

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

felt to be the committee's intolerable infringement on civil freedom." Most liberals applauded — with reservations. The *East Bay Labor Journal*, organ of the AFL-CIO, editorialized, "We feel that this re-awakening is a good thing," but warned, "we may be sure that the Commies will take advantage of the new swing to politics on the campus. When they do, it will be time to blow the whistle."

TWO months after the event, during the summer vacation, J. Edgar Hoover blew the whistle long and loud in an eighteen-page illustrated report, published by the HUAC, in which he ascribed the City Hall fracas to Communist infiltration and agitation tactics: "Communist leaders in Berkeley arranged transportation from Berkeley to San Francisco for youths interested in attending each of the three-day hearings," and "placards and posters were also prepared for the demonstrators to carry." The report added: "Particularly pleasing to party officials was the number of students involved in the demonstrations. They commented that there had not been that much 'political activity' among student groups for years."

While that last sentence is hardly debatable, Hoover's main thesis — that those involved were dupes "totally unaware of the extent to which they can be victimized and exploited by Communists"—brought forth astonished and furious denials from the students, and caused considerable eyebrow lifting on the part of faculty members.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Special Movie Award

The chairman of the University of California Students for Civil Liberties issued a sharp denial of Hoover's charges, declaring that statements inferring Communist infiltration of the student movement were "nothing more than hogwash." Unkindest cut of all to the students was that Communist agitators should be credited with the carefully planned demonstration held the last day of the hearing. "Of course there were Communists at City Hall—a lot of them were subpoenaed by the committee," said a student in a burst of irritation. "But what's that got to do with us? We *know* who arranged for transportation, who made the placards, who were picket captains—because *we* did it."

THE HOOVER report was followed by the appearance of the now famous film of the hearing and the disturbances, *Operation Abolition*, made from footage subpoenaed by HUAC. (Incidentally, although Washington Video, Inc., maker of the film, is reported to have grossed more than $200,000 in sales of the film at $100 each to a number of corporations, police departments and federal agencies, the studios and photographers were paid nothing—because the film was obtained by subpoena.) The film drew renewed protest from the students, who charged it had been so edited as to distort the truth [see Alan C. Elms's article, page 458].

Sixty-four demonstrators, most of them students, had been picked up by police at the City Hall riot. Sixty-three of them were discharged almost immediately. The sixty-fourth, Robert J. Meisenbach, a University of California senior, was brought to trial earlier this month—and acquitted. The outcome would seem to provide an effective answer to Hoover's charges that the youngsters had precipitated the riot, just as it would seem to settle, once and for all, the issue of whether *Operation Abolition* was distorted to place the blame on the students. Immediately after the trial Jack Berman, Meisenbach's attorney, told the Associated Press that the jury's finding was proof that the film was filled with falsehood. [The National Council of Churches has issued a thirty-two page analysis of the film entitled, "Operation Abolition: Some Facts and Comments," which conclusively nails down the film's untruths and distortions.—Ed.]

THOSE who might have anticipated a retreat by the students in the face of attack from extremely powerful forces were due for a surprise. All through the summer recess the campus buzzed with unwonted activity on a number of fronts. Several carloads went down to Los Angeles to participate in a civil rights demonstration at the Democratic National Convention; an American Legion meeting in San Francisco drew 150 pickets from the University of California; fifty students went to investigate at first hand conditions of agricultural workers in Central Valley and to offer aid to the union organizing committee. The summer activity culminated in a weekend camping conference called by SLATE to discuss direction, national coordination and tactics of the student movement. No less than twenty-three colleges were represented.

When school opened in September, returning students were confronted by a veritable forest of tables at Sather Gate manned by various political action committees offering leaflets and petitions. SLATE, CORE and NAACP were out in force, joined by the newly organized Bay Area Student Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, Students for Agricultural Labor, and Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

It was not long before the students once more erupted into the headlines, this time over a "freedom of press" issue involving the *Daily Californian's* endorsement of a SLATE candidate for student office. When the student executive committee moved to illegalize such endorsements in the future, the staff of the *Daily Californian* resigned en masse, and announced plans to publish a rival campus paper. Offers of assistance were immediately forthcoming from campus editors at the University of San Francisco, the University of California at Los Angeles, University of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nevada and Stanford University. The lively little newspaper flourished briefly, achieving a circulation as high as 5,000, but eventually folded for lack of funds. Later that fall a truce was declared between the *Daily Californian* staff and the executive committee, and the SLATE candidate whose endorsement by the paper had touched off the row was elected Representative at Large.

TO PREDICT the next development on the student front would be hazardous. But one can, at least, make some pertinent generalizations concerning today's student movement.

First of all, it is essentially nonpolitical. Its main philosophical current is in the tradition of the Quakers, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Gandhi rather than that of Karl Marx and the class struggle. There is a scattering of Socialists (the Young Peoples Socialist League claims some thirty members at the University of California), but no organization, either open or secret, of Communists. (Interestingly, student after student, asked to estimate the strength of the Communist Party on campus, replied that it was nonexistent.)

A minor influence was exerted for a time by the Beat Generation. A number of politically active students admit to past flirtation with beat ideas. They point out that the beat insistence on the futility of trying to improve the world is in a sense the other side of the coin to action, since both stem from the same deep disillusionment with the *status quo*. But as a University of California graduate student said, "The minute you join a picket line or circulate a petition you're not 'beat' any more, because you're actually working for something you believe in."

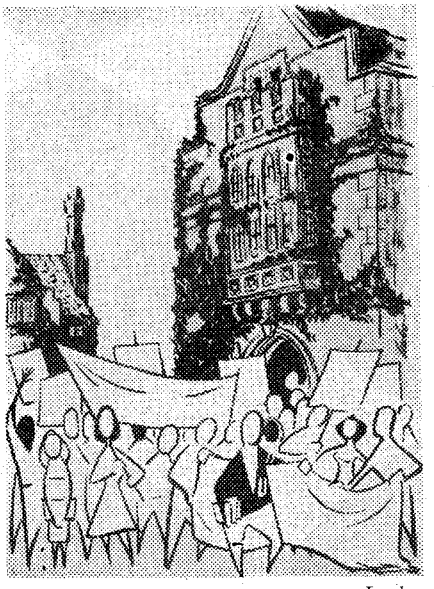
The beats may have helped crystallize for the students a concept of what they are *against*. A list of pet phobias, compiled from conversations with a number of students, have a beat ring: "Specious ideas . . . sacred cows of American life . . . institutions [like the FBI, House Un-American Activities Committee] that represent themselves as above criticism . . . compromisers . . . the Madison Avenue mentality. . . ."

But what are "the vocal minority of rebels" *for*? To the question, "What would you say is the guiding philosophy of the active student movement?" a twenty-three-year-old University of California English major replied, "The student movement is based on very general principles for rights, justice and so on. Many of us are for things that no political party has come out for—most of us are for banning the bomb. We just work on a broad set of principles, and as issues come up, we decide how to act. We approach all the problems without the strict theory that older people are so fond of."

IT IS THIS aspect of the student movement that is truly new, and which differentiates it most sharply from its predecessors of the thirties and forties. Students today are not so much *political* as *moral*. They are *for* the simple, liberal issues—free speech, civil rights, ending the nuclear threat. Above all, they intend to provide their own leadership, and they look with jaundiced eye on most adult organizations: political parties, which they see as riddled with opportunism; the labor movement, which they consider badly compromised; the remnants of left-wing organizations, which they consider hide-bound, restrictive of thought, and prone to pat solutions.

The world around them has changed; gone are the virile Left-led movements of the thirties, with their highly disciplined youth branches. The very language of today's students reflects the change. They talk in different terms because they *think* in different terms. The "politically developed forces" of yesteryear have been replaced by the "emotionally committed." Little is heard about "ideological struggle," for today's students are, as they say, "issue-oriented" — a phrase which crops up over and over again in their gatherings and publications. Rather than of a "united front" with racial minorities, etc., they speak of "moral identity." The words "concerned" and "dedicated," with their connotations of humanistic solicitude, and that meaningless word "meaningful," sprinkle student conversation.

The wariness of existing ideologies may be better understood if one first understands what it is that today's students do *not* fear. The danger of being "smeared" by association with left-wing groups, or being "labeled" as radical, is not uppermost in their minds. It is rather that they are shy of the *content* of existing left-wing organizations and ideologies. They strongly desire to think things through for themselves.



Leabo

THERE ARE, however, increasing signs that the purely "issue oriented" approach may be in for some overhauling. If the City Hall affair was for hundreds of students the first time they (literally) got their feet wet in political action, the totally unexpected charges of "red infiltration" drew new battle lines and created new complexities. Now they find themselves directly under the gun—victims rather than defenders —with a host of morning-after headaches that cannot be resolved by merely pointing to inaccuracies in the Hoover report and the film.

What should be their posture regarding the charges of communism? A strong sentiment for an "anti-Communist disclaimer" among liberal faculty advisers and students is matched by an equally strong sentiment against such a step. The argument for it is persuasive: since the student leaders are not Communists, and in fact disagree with the Communist Party, its tactics, method of organization, and its economic and political conclusions, why not say

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so and avoid this particular stigma? Opponents of the disclaimer see the issue as one of political expediency versus principle. They say it's one thing to disagree privately with the Communists, but to disavow them publicly is to lend aid and comfort to the witch-hunt. Why capitulate on this point and institute what would amount to a loyalty oath within the student movement, the very thing students have opposed? Who knows if such an oath, even if adopted, would satisfy the HUAC—doesn't the committee's past history show that the only people it considers "pure" of Communist leanings are those willing to testify against their co-workers?

THERE is also the question of what form the student movement should take, and which way it should go. Here, the posed alternatives (so familiar to older hats in radical movements, but so brand new and challenging to today's students) are between the broad appeal to the middle-of-the-road majority, and the quick response to issues by a small, dedicated band of militants willing to act quickly and dramatically. Should the movement seek radical changes in our society, or content itself with meeting specific issues—racial bigotry, civil liberty, etc.—as they arise?

Many students are seriously plagued with the necessity of deciding what to do and where to go after leaving school. They see no parallel to the student movement outside campus walls. Most liberal adult organizations devoted to the cause of peace and civil liberties are composed of people middle-aged and older, and have little appeal to the recent college graduate. The world of jobs and careers seems tainted with all the evils of the affluent society, an unattractive place to land from the high-minded, strongly idealistic life of the student movement. Some are solving this problem by simply staying on at college, not as the academically immured "perennial student" but as dedicated workers in what they regard as the only "live" movement for progress presently in existence.

While the students are acutely aware of the difficulties confronting them, they also have a strong feeling of achievement; they have already had an impact on national life. They have seen both major political conventions give official praise and recognition to the Southern sit-ins. Their attack on the HUAC has had country-wide repercussions. Their walks for peace have been headlined in papers from coast to coast.

Their mood is one of youthful indignation and muscle flexing. There is a desire to become re-connected with society and to play an influential part in shaping the future of the world. Whether or not the student organizational drive is sustained at its present rate, the thinking of young people has been touched and transformed in a significant new way. It is unlikely that those students who have espoused new causes, and have begun to taste the sweet fruits of success in their efforts, will subside into silence.

II. Rise and Fall of the Beats . . *by Tim A. Ross*

JACK KEROUAC brought forth his sprawling novel *On the Road* in 1957, and the Beat Generation was born. Since then, many hundreds of thousands of words have been written about these new rebels, and the word beatnik has become a part of our language, calling up a picture of a shaggy-bearded type who says "Like, man." A public image of the beatnik has been created, so that he is instantly recognizable in *Saturday Evening Post* cartoons, on television, on the streets. Herewith, written from a vantage point in Iowa City, isolated alike from New York and San Francisco, are some thoughts on the evolution of this public image.

I happened to be in San Francisco during the summer of 1958, and heard an elderly lady, noticing a bearded man passing on the sidewalk, say to her daughter, "Look, there's a beatnik." The beard, a readily seen outward sign of an inner dissent, had already become the badge. With it went sloppy clothes and dark glasses. At that time, the beat colony in North Beach was a focus of journalistic attention. A young man had been killed in a fall from a roof-top where a beat party was supposed to be going on, and a seaman had murdered a beat girl. Eric Nord, a bearded and flamboyant entrepreneur of the beat generation, was much in the news as he tried to raise money to pay off traffic fines. A newsman went underground, as it were, among the beats, and came up with the "inside story" of their wild lives. Public interest in the reported beat life of narcotics, jazz and sex was stimulated.

Let it be said that the mass-media men did not by themselves create this sensational image of the beats. They had the help of some prominent prophets of beat. The cover blurb of Lawrence Lipton's *The Holy Barbarians* fairly shouts: "At last the complete story of the Beats — that hip, cool, frantic generation of new Bohemians who are turning the American scale of values inside out." Lipton defined the beat movement as ". . . a deep-going change, a revolution under the ribs." In other words, this thing is really serious, and Lipton maintained that the beat generation is a total rejection of the values of the whole society.

For a group that rejects society, beats have proved singularly willing to be interviewed, photographed and made much of. They turned out to have their pictures taken at a *Look* magazine party. *Playboy*, a magazine which sees the good life in distinctly non-beat terms, was able to photograph beats in their Los Angeles coffeehouses, and found a girl to be their Beat Playmate. As perhaps the ultimate example of beat willingness to be merchandised, a New York entrepreneur named McDarrah rents out real live beatniks at $25 the evening, plus carfare. The merchandise is rented to squares who

TIM A. ROSS is a senior at Iowa State University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

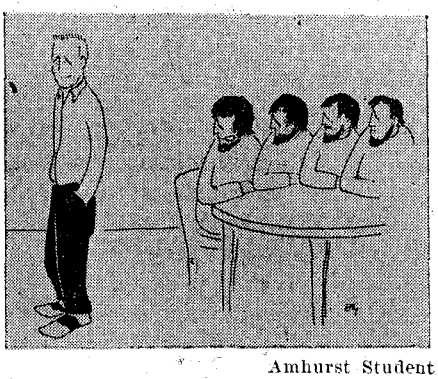
want something novel to break the ice at parties.

But if some leading beatniks have allowed themselves to be explored and exploited by the mass media they profess to scorn, the mass-media men were more than happy to oblige. These eager beavers invaded the beat's pads, flushed him from his dim coffeehouses, and turned the spotlights of publicity on him. *Life* published a full-page photograph of the complete beat pad, including marijuana, wine bottle, mattress on the floor, bearded beatnik on the mattress, and a sullen beat chick looking on. The article accompanying the picture described the beat generation as "the only rebellion around" — and not a particularly exciting one at that. But the writer commented sympathetically on the literary work of some prominent beatniks, showed tolerance for beat peculiarities, and admitted the validity of some beat criticisms of modern society.

The rather pathetic attempts of the beats to put down mass culture with hip sneers or howls of protest were muffled by society's willingness to search its own soul, superficially, anyway. Kerouac, referring to beats in *The Subterraneans*, called them "un-putdownable." It would seem that it is the non-beats who are the real un-putdownables. A spate of novels (by non-beat writers) have attacked "phony Madison Avenue values," the ethics of corporation executives, suburban conformity, and so forth. But none of this literary barrage has made any difference to non-beat Madison Avenue or modern society at large, as far as I can see.

LIPTON, in *The Holy Barbarians* — an exploitation as well as an explanation of the beats by a long-time professional beat — mentions the attachment of the beats to voluntary poverty. They buy their clothes in thrift shops so as to avoid aiding the national economy. But the very existence of this well-publicized group of rebels has stimulated production and consumption of movies, novels, articles and what-have-you, to the profit of both the national and the beat economies.

Hollywood strove to cash in on the beat boom with Zugsmith's movie *The Beat Generation*, and a film version of *The Subterraneans*. Paperbacks — not the intellectual kind, but the thirty-five-cent sex-and-sadism thriller found in every drugstore —followed suit with Zugsmith's book version of *The Beat Generation*, Jerry Weil's *A Real Cool Cat*, and Bonnie Golightly's *Beat Girl*, to name a few. Even more serious novels not really dealing with the beat generation tried to look as if they were. The inside-cover blurb for the paperback edition of Robert Gutwillig's novel, *After Long Silence*, cried: "The beat generation story of —." Actually the hero was only a troubled Ivy Leaguer.



Amhurst Student
"Conformist!"

How is the beatnik treated in the *Saturday Evening Post*, regarded by some as the square's magazine par excellence? A short story in a July, 1959, issue, "Beauty and the Beatnik," by Harriet Frank, gives us the beatnik who isn't a beatnik at all. When we first see him, "He was wearing Army pants, a ski sweater of Tyrolean design, a battered straw hat, and a look of absolute beatitude." Later, he says to the square girl, "I've got some swinging friends in a pad out Santa Monica way who will dig you the most." When she doubts his beat pose, he says: "Let's face it. I'm a beatnik. Through and through. James Jones. Jack Kerouac. They're Dun and Bradstreet compared to me. I'm a real bum." This "beatnik" tempts the heroine with nothing more dangerous than an offer of marriage. He is revealed, finally, as not any kind of beatnik at all, but a brilliant, solid young lawyer taking a break.

Little of this writing by squares about beatniks has treated the beat generation seriously as a movement of dissent from certain disturbing trends — the arms race, materialism, etc. Instead, the beat milieu, as presented by the mass media, has been used as a setting for the usual sex thriller with an offbeat flavor. The beat protest itself has not been a focused, rational argument, but rather a visceral, somewhat inarticulate dissent from a society that seems, in the words of David McReynolds, "rational, but no longer sane." No reformers, the beats withdraw into private lives, which are portrayed by some of the more successful beat writers as consisting mainly of sex, vagabondage and dabbling in Zen. The picture of the beat life presented by their own writers has contributed to the public image.

THUS the beat generation has been given a product image and, with the help of some leading beatniks, has been sold to the American public by the mass media. This commodity, a picturesque and safely vicarious rebellion, is merchandisable not alone as literature, but as "beat generation drinking sweatshirts," LP records of Zen ceremonies, "beatnik slang glossaries" and beatnik Halloween masks. Television offers a teen-age image of the beatnik in the idiotic Maynard of the *Dobie Gillis* show. Maynard, a high school beatnik, is too young for a beard, but his sloppy clothes and speech mannerisms — he says "like, man" a lot — proclaim him beat.

There are still those who will return the beatnik sneer with the sneer of scorn. An example is the woman who, coming out of Kresge's store in Iowa City last winter and encountering a picket line of students engaged in a demonstration in support of Southern sit-ins at chain stores (some of the pickets wore beards), said disgustedly: "Bunch of queers and beatniks, every damn one of 'em." But by and large the aspect of the beatnik as a social dissenter has been ignored; his off-trail habits will be played up, but his pacifism or radicalism disregarded. Perhaps this is because the beat generation has not concerned itself

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much with action, preferring to talk instead.

Last year, a young artist and former student at the State University of Iowa, one Robert McGrath, received a one-year jail sentence for refusing to pay any attention to the demands of his draft board. Military service, he said, was degrading to the human personality, and he denied the authority of the state to put him in the Army. In the light of this kind of protest, the literary and personal antics of the publicized beats seem rather unimportant. They have failed to make an effective protest. They are performing for a society which apparently likes to be told it is phony. The affluent and tolerant society, unconcerned with threats of nuclear destruction or the threat of totalitarianism, has no trouble accepting the beatnik. He is merely an amusing diversion.

III. The Conservative Ripple . . *by Alan C. Elms*

IN THE SAME recent issue in which *Time* read off the "hipataph" of the tourist-image beatnik whom they helped to create [see Tim Ross's article, p. 456], they celebrated the birth of another movement: a new wave of conservatism that was sweeping college campuses from coast to coast. It took *Time* a good three years to discover the non-existence of the rucksack revolution. The conservative counterrevolution is equally a *mélange* of their own unduly creative reportage — but, with the addition of a healthy dollop of wishful thinking, a similar disenchantment may not descend for three decades.

What, then, are the signs of this right-wing revival on the campus for which one should be alert? Well, for one thing, the paperback edition of *Conscience of a Conservative* is selling fast at college bookstores. But so are J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* and Dr. Eustace Chesser's *Love Without Fear*. Other "unmistakable" signs are that Harvard has a conservative Student Council president on a campus still beset with left-over-Kennedy-liberal professors, and that mock undergraduate elections in 1960 frequently gave Nixon the edge. The explanation for this is easy, says *Time*: "The new trend is youth's natural rebellion against conformity, and to many the liberalism of their New Deal-bred elders is the most iron-bound conformity."

A major portion of self-styled student conservatives come from solidly conservative families and conservative *milieux*. At Yale, a poll of the mostly-affluent undergraduates before the 1960 election showed over 60 per cent in favor of Nixon. On the other hand, a poll of Yale graduate students — who are a more impoverished lot, financially — showed more than 80 per cent favoring Kennedy. Conformity to socio-economic class roles is a more likely reason for student conservatism than reaction against the conformity of liberalism.

JUST how exciting is the intellectual fare that the student conservatives are offering their fellows to induce them to join *Time's* "wave of the future"? The clearest exposition is to be found in the so-called Sharon Statement, adopted at the founding conference of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) last September. Young conservatives believe in free will, States' rights, anti-communism and economic freedom. "Economic freedom" does not refer to something like FDR's "Freedom from Want," however. It involves the proposition that "the market economy, allocating resources by the free play of supply and demand," is the one holy economic system. In simpler terms, the young conservatives stand most of all for the eternal verities of absolute laissez-faire capitalism — including charity instead of unemployment insurance, dependence of the aged on their children rather than on social security and, logically, child labor instead of hot-lunch programs. They also manage to get in a few licks at Khrushchev, integrationists and modern literature. Not very exciting fare, by any standard, — particularly against the backdrop of a world in revolutionary ferment.

But if not ideas, perhaps action is the bait. What are these budding young conservatives doing on behalf of their cause? Thankfully, very little. Their finest hour seems to have been last January 2, when they picketed a youth group which was in turn picketing the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington. YAF points proudly to the fact that their pickets outnumbered the anti-HUAC pickets two-to-one. That it takes considerable more guts to picket against HUAC than for it, and that other liberal student groups firmly oppose HUAC but feel there are more effective means of opposition than picketing the Capitol, YAF chooses to ignore.

So: if the conservative youth movement doesn't believe in much of anything and doesn't do much of anything, why does it exist — or, in fact, *does* it exist? The answer to the second question takes care of the first as well. The movement probably doesn't exist in the sense of a vast new enthusiasm among students for conservative ideologies. The size of the organized movement has been exaggerated, for one thing. Young Americans for Freedom, by far the largest group, gives its latest figures as 24,000 members on "over 115 campuses." But this would be something like 200 members per campus, whereas Yale, which boasts YAF's national chairman and a good-sized student body, claims a local membership of no more than seventy or eighty.

THE illusion of a "wave" is created, first, by the relative ease with which youthful conservative groups can raise money from private business to issue pamphlets, get out publications such as *Insight and Outlook* (University of Wisconsin), *The New Guard*, YAF's official organ, and others. Also, the availability of publicity has fostered the illusion and,

ALAN C. ELMS is a graduate student at Yale University's Institute of Human Relations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to some extent, stimulated growth. Young conservatives are delighted to find themselves being sung and celebrated by a conservative press eager to believe that youth has turned to the Right.

There has been no mass conversion to conservatism on the campus. Whatever growth in nominal conservativism there has beeen derives mostly from the situation of the typical student who goes along thinking he's normal and average, believes most of what he reads in the newspapers or hears on newscasts, and waits for one of the weekly newsmagazines to verify his emotional reactions. The occasional case where conservatism *is* a throwing off of parental traces does not necessarily indicate permanent political change; your bright new freshman conservative may well be a liberal again by the time he's a senior.

Several college deans have suggested that the students' new-found identification with conservatism is part of a wider resurgence of political activity among youth, all of which is a good thing to have happening. On the contrary, student conservatism is often only a justification for know-nothingism and political irresponsibility — a justification made necessary by the less publicized but probably stronger resurgence of liberalism among youth. The difference is that the current liberal movement among college students expresses itself not as a "movement," but as action on specific issues [see Jessica Treuhaft's article on page 451]. Indeed the press-agentry build-up of conservatism on the campus may be designed in part to obscure the growing strength of student protest on these specific issues. A case in point is the mounting student protest against HUAC.

WITH THE possible exception of the sit-ins, the HUAC issue has stirred more U.S. students to discussion and action than anything in years. Reverberations of last year's San Francisco encounter between students and the committee are still sounding, although the last of the students arrested in connection with the riots has now been acquitted.

Repeated showings of the HUAC-manufactured film on the demonstrations, *Operation Abolition*, have undoubtedly stirred more student sentiment against the committee than any other product of its career. Response of student audiences has generally duplicated Dan Wakefield's description of the film's unfriendly reception at Rutgers (*The Nation*, January 28.) When the movie comes to a campus now, the audience seems to know by heart both the script and the multiple criticism of it. They laugh at the movie's opening shot of a pamphlet labeled as Communist-front literature, containing Jimmie Roosevelt's anti-HUAC speech to Congress; they boo Francis Walter; they applaud a directive supposedly coming from the student organizers of the demonstration, asking participants to "laugh out loud when things get ridiculous."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"I suppose in time we'll become stodgy old liberals"

Sharper divisions of sentiment have appeared after showings at Harvard, Yale and other campuses sporting a conservative movement. But at Yale, disagreements were virtually wiped out by the appearance of E. J. McCallum, Jr., chairman-founder of the Connecticut Anti-Communist Committee, who has built an anti-Communist career on the basis of having spent less than a week in Russia a couple of years ago, McCallum, after a showing of the film, stood up from the audience to insist first that "Our greatest danger is not the committee but communism, as stated in the January *Reader's Digest*," and second that "The Communists are all around us. Here in the university are three Communist cells; there are 200 card-carrying Communists in New Haven alone." Yale composure was shattered; half the audience began to shout, "*Name them! name ONE*, just one!" While the discussion chairman tried to gavel the evening to a close, the crowd surged around McCallum — who had not yet named one by the time he made his escape.

The Yale response to McCallum's accusations indicates one major reason for student agitation against HUAC: they feel they're being smeared collectively, for no good reason. Through the *Operation Abolition* film, HUAC strongly suggests that students as a whole, if not completely un-American, are at least the most gullible group in the country. Among the literature distributed at showings is a transcript of testimony before a HUAC staff consultation by Dr. Frederick Charles Schwartz, Executive Director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, who says: "The problem that perplexes many people is the overwhelming appeal that communism apparently exercises for the student mind." J. Edgar Hoover's pamphlet, "Communist Target — Youth," published and widely circulated by HUAC, says, "The successful Communist exploitation and manipulation of youth and student groups throughout the world today are a major challenge which free world forces must meet and defeat."

A MORE profound reason for student (and faculty) opposition to HUAC is its inroads on academic freedom and freedom of inquiry. The Swarthmore student newspaper stated the case briefly:

> Perhaps the most regrettable backwash of the Committee's peregrinations has been the way in which freedom of thought and speech among university students and professors has been inhibited; in this way the Committee no doubt realizes it is controlling the forces that mold men's minds. We must seriously re-examine the reality of traditional claims to Freedom of Speech in America when super-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ficial epithets can effectively stigmatize the whole way of thinking of a citizen holding unpopular beliefs.

If this comment needed further justification, Congressman Walter himself supplied it in a letter to the Swarthmore Student Council which had sent him a copy of its resolution condemning HUAC:

> We have recently received other communications from student groups and other identified Communist-front groups almost identical in their statements as that which you have forwarded, and which appear to us . . . to be the culmination and expression of an organized program, that has come to our attention, to bring pressure upon the Congress to abolish this Committee, inspired by identified Communists, Communist-front groups, and their fellow-travelers, who have drawn certain un-thinking non-Communists into their web. . . .

OF THE manifold reasons for student opposition to HUAC, one more is probably significant: of all the causes for which students might choose to battle — disarmament, federal aid to education, world population control — the HUAC situation looks to be one of the simpler and more easily handled. It is considerably more difficult to uncover Edward Teller's nuclear-test-detection fallacies than to point out the blatant shortcomings of *Operation Abolition*.

Anti-HUAC activity on most campuses has consisted of debates, distribution of literature following the film, and scores of petitions and resolutions censuring the film and/or demanding curtailment or abolition of the committee. Students have attempted to alert the general populace to HUAC's evils; several West Coast groups, for instance, have worked diligently up and down the coast to refute charges made against San Francisco students. The New York Youth Council to Abolish HUAC has helped organize demonstrations and picket lines for such events as the Manhattan rally, on March 3, of YAF, where Representative Walter was named to receive an award for his "outstanding contributions to American Conservatism and the youth of the Nation." The country's largest and most respectable youth organization, the U.S. National Student Association, passed a resolution last summer calling for specific revisions of HUAC procedures to safeguard Constitutional rights, or, these measures failing, abolition of the committee. Since then, members of the NSA have helped stimulate or organize anti-HUAC movements on dozens of member campuses.

THE GROUP most responsible for nation-wide campus interest in HUAC is the body of college journalists. What started as scattered college newspaper articles questioning the validity of *Operation Abolition* has become a wave of anti-HUAC editorials, counterattacks by students or patriotic groups, and pitched battles in the letter columns. Attacks on the committee have spread from the columns of major "liberal" student newspapers to those at such unlikely places as the University of Nebraska and Middle Tennessee State College.

Some college newspapers have supported the committee — including one which proclaimed that if the Communists "can dupe the youth they will soon have the greatest weapon against Democracy ever conceived, the vote." "Organized" student support for HUAC has found a home at Northwestern University, where James and John Kolbe, two brothers from Patagonia, Arizona, have formed the Student's Committee for Congressional Autonomy. This body, with representatives at thirty colleges, opposes what it calls "Communist-led" drives to abolish HUAC, and has called on all Congressmen to "join in this fight to protect the autonomous right of Congress to inform itself and the American public of the persons and practices which would corrupt or destroy our way of life." The group seems to have had considerably more success with Congress than with students.

HUAC and *Operation Abolition* have traced the lines of party politics at almost every campus where they are at issue. Many local chapters of Young Democrats, as well as the Young Democratic Clubs of America, have passed resolutions urging the abolition of HUAC. On the other side, campus showings of the film are frequently sponsored by either the local Conservative Club or the Young Republicans (where it isn't shown by an ROTC detachment).

Actually, those conservative students vocal enough to express a position of any kind seem generally less pro-HUAC than anti--anti-HUAC. Liberal students have taken a stand, and conservatives must therefore take the opposite stand at all costs. On the other hand, there are large and silent majorities at many schools who may be more pro-HUAC than the views of either literate conservatives or student editors suggest.

On some campuses, silence about HUAC derives from other sources. A student editor from Howard University in Washington, D.C., pointed out that the school receives a major part of its budget from Congressional appropriations, and it would be highly unwise to offend anyone who could slash the school's budget. At Lehigh University, following a private viewing of *Operation Abolition*, the student governing body voted unanimously to write a letter to HUAC asking for the withdrawal of the film from circulation, because they felt its numerous inaccuracies impugned the integrity of college students. University officials quickly told the student leaders that Congressman Walter was a long-time friend of the university (it is located in Walter's home district); that they would face "disciplinary action" — i.e., expulsion — if the letter were sent; and that, perhaps, they could send instead a letter to Walter inviting him to speak at the University. The student leaders quietly dropped the whole matter.

THE EFFECTS of the HUAC controversy and of *Operation Abolition* upon the student populace as a whole are a matter of some debate. James Roosevelt, whose "Dragon Slayers" speech before Congress last year has been a mainstay of student opposition to HUAC, thinks it all to the good that students are expressing themselves politically, "many of them perhaps for the first time." That some students agree is evidenced by the fact that several liberal campus groups have sponsored

(Continued on page 468)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Things Are Very Far Away

Jonathan Williams

A LETTER from Robert Creeley, received this morning from Patulul, Guatemala, reminds me of something I think about so much I generally cannot state it: "I feel very damn remote in any case. I am very anxious to get to the goddamn novel again, simply that it takes me out of all such businesses, and makes something possible again — 'poetry' has suddenly become a very damn small world indeed. Well, that's not new — but I need a time away now badly, just to get back again. . . . I think the whole frigging world is turning into some bastard form of the Olympics, as witness . . . . . 's piece — partially very generous in reference to me, god knows, but that goddamn 'scale' used I resent. I.e., that 'exclusion' and 'inclusion' seem the basic terms, always."

So they do: SF/NYC, in/out, square/beat, right/left, us/them. One resents it, it is impossible not to. *It*, of course, "has nothing to do with poetry," but evidences the impotency of poems to effect anything in this society because of the shoddiness of the attention given them. All of this serves to take me to a particular case.

That of Mina Loy, the poet, and of my experience in publishing her selected poems, *Lunar Baedeker & Time-Tables* (Jargon 23, Highlands, North Carolina, 1958; o.p.). Let me spring the gist of this report to begin with: no review of Mina Loy's poems was printed in the United States. I want to suggest why.

About ten years ago I ran across an essay by Kenneth Rexroth in *Circle* (1944), entitled "Les Lauriers Sont Coupés." This, one of a series, concerned Mina Loy. The others, for the record: Robert McAlmon and James Daly. It began: "At one time it was common to couple the names of Mina Loy and Marianne Moore. Pound treated them as equals, said they both wrote something called logopoeia. . . . There is no question but Mina Loy is important and should be reprinted. No one competent and familiar with verse in English in this century would dream of denying it. . . ." Or as he said elsewhere: "Mr. Laughlin, the 'Five Young Poets' are still Eliot, Stevens, Williams, Moore, Loy — get busy."

Jay Laughlin, of *New Directions*, was undoubtedly busy enough, coping with the grisly competitors of the American *avant-garde* and the ladies with three names and three-pound manuscripts *sans* postage, but one of his annuals soon turned up some recently dated poems of Mina Loy, and I wrote him in surprise that Miss Loy was alive and active. Laughlin wrote back that he had happened to see her in Aspen, Colorado, during a skiing expedition. Miss Loy was advanced in years, living quietly with her children. My recollection is, I wrote two letters to Aspen, investigating the matter of a book. Neither was returned, but neither was answered. This was about 1955. In May, 1957, I found myself in Boulder, Colorado, in the midst of a seven-month tour of the country by station wagon. The Pontiac was loaded with Jargon Books, City Lights Pocket Poets, Bern Porter Books, Divers Press, portfolios by Kenneth Patchen, New Directions, and Evergreen books. I was reading poems, selling books, talking about "the underground," etc. I wired Aspen and received one in return: "CAN YOU MEET ME HOTEL JEROME THE NINETEENTH?" The night of the 18th, eight inches of snow fell, obliterating the cherry trees in blossom and blocking all access to Aspen. I drove south into New Mexico and had to phone Miss Loy that I'd try again on the return across country a few months later.

Hiking with Rexroth in Marin County, California, that summer, talk turned to Mina Loy and he reaffirmed his belief in her eminence. So, when I'd finished hawking my wares in that great renaissance center, San Francisco, I drove east for two days and arrived in Aspen, with the gold aspens properly quaking and lots of overweight humanists digging scenery and seminars. I was pleasantly installed by Miss Loy's family in a Swiss-type inn and went to see *La Strada* at the old opera house. The next day at noon I was to have luncheon with Mina Loy's daughters, to present credentials, etc. I found them as attractive as their legendarily attractive mother. Joella, now married to Herbert Bayer, the artist; and Fabi, married to Fritz Benedict, the architect. Both daughters had been brought up in the world of the international *avant-garde*. There is an extraordinary painted head of Joella by Dali, as well as portraits by Tchelitchew, Campigli and Man Ray. Fabi resembles very strikingly one photograph of her also legendary father, Arthur Cravan. (For information about this robust figure, see *The Dada Painters & Poets*, edited by Robert Motherwell for George Wittenborn, publisher.) A book on Cravan remains to be written. Suffice it to say here that I learned from Fabi the true fact of Cravan's disappearance in Mexico: "It was testified that a corpse answering his description (and there are not too many men 6 ft. 4, sandy-haired, in the tropics!) was found; obviously he was killed and robbed for his money belt — how prosaic!" At any rate, meeting the daughters I felt that, with considerable justification, they wanted the details and legends very carefully scrutinized regarding Mina Loy and her tragic life. (I found it fairly incredible later, for instance, that one of her grandsons, nearly thirty, did not know his grandmother wrote poetry.) Over lunch, then, I had to dispel all suggestions of being simply a skeleton-rattler.

LATER in the afternoon I went to call on Mina Loy (the family name was Lloyd), still a distinguished and handsome woman at nearly eighty, and impeccably dressed. Her very few manuscripts and mementos she carried in a net shopping bag. Of her one book, *Lunar Baedeker*, published by Robert McAlmon's Contact Press in Dijon, 1923, she had not a copy—or of the later anthology published by Contact in 1925. (She had had no news of Pound or Dr. Williams for years and was delighted to hear they were still alive.) She did have some manuscripts of recent poems and of a novel that awaits a publisher to this day. The new poems Miss Loy agreed to have typed, and so, in a day or two, I went on from Aspen back to North Carolina with the project relatively set. A few months later I was doing some reading at the Library of Congress and prepared a typescript of Mina Loy's earlier work in the Rare Book Room

---

JONATHAN WILLIAMS, poet and publisher, has just completed his poems and essays, 1958-60: Poeticules Criticasters Kitschdiggers & Justfolks. *Mr. Williams hopes to move his publishing operation from North Carolina to Kyoto, Japan, by the end of 1961.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the two Contact editions, from *Others*, from *The Little Review*, etc., having also consulted the staffs of the New York Public Library, Yale and UCLA. There were, undoubtedly, some fugitive poems unseen, but nothing, we hope, of major importance. A number of corrections had to be made. McAlmon was a marvelous publisher (the University of Nebraska Press, by the way, publishes Robert E. Knoll's excellent study of him), but conspicuously no proofreader at all. Even *Lunar Baedecker* was misspelled. Miss Loy and her daughters went over the new script. And so did William Carlos Williams, Kenneth Rexroth and Denise Levertov. I asked each poet to contribute an introduction to the book, thus giving judgments from three generations and heralding the republication of Mina Loy in the most intimidating fashion possible. Besides that, the back jacket bore testimony from Alfred Kreymberg, Louis Zukofsky, Henry Miller, Edward Dahlberg and Walter Lowenfels. There was the danger of making it all sound like the panhandled plugs on an Exposition Press book by a budding Denver housewife, but, as Rexroth said, it was to mark "a real EVENT, like the opening of King Tut's tomb."

Lunar Baedecker & Time-Tables was published December 17, 1958, and I marked the occasion with a big cocktail party at the Martha Jackson Gallery in New York. Mina Loy telephoned from Aspen and some of her old friends, Bob Brown, Kay Boyle, Romany Marie, spoke to her. The book had been most handsomely printed by William Loftin of the Heritage Printers, Charlotte, North Carolina. Emerson Woelffer drawings of birds, nesting and in flight, graced the cover and the title page. Next to Zukofsky's *Some Time* I am more fond of the Mina Loy book than any of my other typographic designs. The usual fifty or so complimentary copies went out to magazine and newspaper reviewers. How is one to take it, that not one of these people reviewed Mina Loy's book?

IN APRIL, 1959, through the instigation of Marcel Duchamp, an exhibition of Mina Loy's collages was shown in New York City. The event was at least *noted* by *The New York Times, Art News* and *The New Yorker*. Robert Coates of *The New Yorker* said: "Mina Loy, now showing a set of — well, she calls them 'Constructions,' but Marcel Duchamp, in the catalogue, calls them 'Haut-Reliefs et Bas-Fonds,' at the Bodley Gallery, was a flashing figure of the resurgent nineteen-twenties. She was a poet then, and a highly original one; the difficulty in defining her current work should attest to its originality, too." Whatever the case, the poetry critic of *The New Yorker* seemingly felt no need to pay respect to Mina Loy by the simple act of public notice. (Apparently it will be a very cold day in hell before *The New Yorker, The New Republic* and the *New York Herald Tribune* review any of Jargon's titles? It seems curious that none of the books of Charles Olson, Robert Creeley, Robert Duncan, Louis Zukofsky, Irving Layton, Kenneth Patchen, Bob Brown, Denise Levertov, myself, et al., has even been considered worth abominating in these august journals.) And no other member of the critical fraternity felt any responsibility. However, Kenneth Rexroth devoted a whole broadcast on station KPFA, Berkeley, California, to *Lunar Baedeker & Time-Tables*, thus keeping intact his position as Miss Loy's only critic in America for thirty years. Since the publication date, between the efforts of friends of Mina Loy in Aspen and my readings from the book in public, the edition has dwindled away. Already it commands a good price from the dealers in modern first editions.

A shrug of the shoulders may be the only healthy solution, but there are days when I feel that celestial wrath should descend on the keepers of the sacred word—these lackluster ladies and gentlemen with spirits as benign as book-burners and draft-board members. I don't know — maybe their Metrecal is drugged? But maybe Mina Loy, herself, is right? She wrote to me in June, 1959: "*Time* sent their representatives from Denver to interview me about two weeks ago. Nothing. . . . I was given some devastating remarks from the *Times* — but about my pictures only, I think. . . . How carefully you have counted the reasons for disliking a poet. My advice to you, dear friend — the best way to conquer is to wear as helmet: *a smile*. You *do* let yourself look too severe — I don't agree that there is no winning in this country. Change from *Persona Non Grata* to Persona Good Grinner — now don't hate me!!! I hope you will visit here again *soon*. And we can discuss the right design for your face-armour. Now don't let this seem merely an encouragement to relax — it is entirely for friendliness between poetry and the world. Yours, M. L."

Unlike Music

The book was scattered with notes
unlike music
which is a line of sound of bridges
through silence, a structure
of footings

the notebook was scattered through
with blue ink,
a dead web

and held in place
small pieces of
his life: that he had bought

the chickens
bred the rabbits
sold the calf
sold the goat

there were no dates
or marks of when

no melody
to recur to him, no recourse
backward—

a life going away like snows
on mountains in the cold
of great altitudes, he was

the yellow man in the book.

EDWARD DORN

Background to Chaos

CONGO DISASTER. By Colin Legum. Penguin Books. 174 pp. 85c.
CONGO: BACKGROUND OF CONFLICT. By Alan P. Merriam. Northwestern University Press. 336 pp. $6.

Henry L. Bretton

ALTHOUGH a year has not yet passed since the Congo disaster broke into the headlines, sufficient time has elapsed to permit more detached, closer analysis of the event and of the circumstances surrounding it. The two books reviewed here represent substantial efforts in that direction. Most crucial to an understanding of what really happened may be these questions: Why was independence granted so abruptly? Which group on the Belgian side was responsible for the decision? What were their real intentions? Once the decision to set the territory free had been made, could the subsequent breakdown have been avoided? What are the facts concerning reports of rape, riot and plunder? What forces supported secessionism in vital Katanga province? What has been the

HENRY L. BRETTON, who teaches political science at the University of Michigan, has conducted field studies in Ghana and Nigeria.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Explorations-in-depth of the worlds of *yesterday*

LITTLE BROWN BROTHER

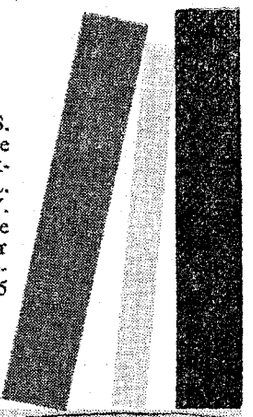
A chapter in our history that never made the history books: **Leon Wolff's** provocative account of America's turn-of-the-century flirtation with empire building – our long, bloody, almost-forgotten struggle to purchase and pacify the Philippines. Fascinating history with striking contemporary overtones. Illustrated, $4.95

THE LOST TOWNS AND ROADS OF AMERICA

Americana for Americans in this diary-guidebook of a cross-country tour that took **J. R. Humphreys** and his wife off the well-paved track of turnpikes and thruways, and showed them a timeless America of brickroads, covered bridges, and small towns whose ways have not changed since the 1800's. A memorable trip, a memorable book. Photographs, $4.95

A HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR

The first major treatment of U.S. – Soviet relations, from the false hope of Yalta, 1945 to the sinking summit of Paris, 1960. C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the *N. Y. Times Book Review*, described the book as "brilliant," and author **John Lukacs** as "penetrating, provocative, and scintillating." $3.95



today...

AS WE ARE

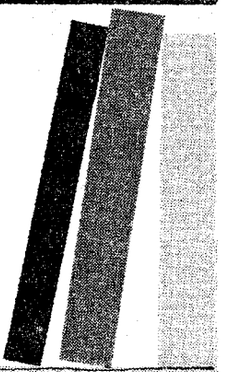
British correspondent **Henry Brandon** interviews such articulate Americans as Leonard Bernstein, Walter Reuther, Arthur Miller, James Thurber and the then Senator John F. Kennedy. His collection of conversation pieces is a "formidable and fascinating bull session on the state of United States life . . . salty food for thought" *(Newsweek)*.
Photographs, $4.50

CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT ON EDUCATION

Neil G. McCluskey, S. J., analyzes the rise of Catholic education, and its relation to American society. His outline of the Church's view on major trouble-spots – transportation, textbooks, released-time – is illuminating, reasoned, and could not be more timely. $3.50

A LIVING BILL OF RIGHTS

Integration? Loyalty oaths? Federal aid to education? Contempt of Congress? Censorship? America's most articulate jurist, **Justice William O. Douglas,** relates current controversy to traditional principle, in a brilliant, telling evaluation of the first ten amendments.
Illustrated, cloth-bound, $1.50



and Tomorrow...

PROJECT VANGUARD

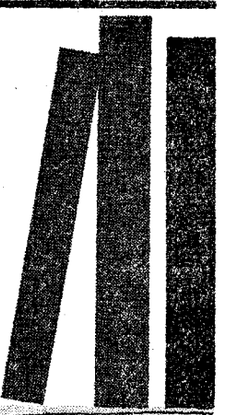
Facts behind the failures, successes, and future of America's answer to Sputnik, by **Kurt R. Stehling,** former head of Vanguard's propulsion group. Candid anecdotes highlight the fantastic post-Sputnik pressure which ended in total failure; the inter-service rivalries and government-industry conflicts; and the "miracle" of the St. Patrick's Day launching in 1958. Illustrated, $4.50

A HOLE IN THE BOTTOM OF THE SEA

The director of the daring Mohole Project, **Willard Bascom,** tells the full story of the plan to drill a hole many miles and many layers beneath the ocean floor. Already making headlines, Mohole sounds like something out of Jules Verne – is actually an imaginative, dramatic attempt to solve the mystery of earth's origins.
Illustrated, $4.95

AFRICA A TO Z

The Continent of Today *and* Tomorrow, from Alexandria to Zululand, by **Robert S. Kane**. "A pioneer survey which provides a wealth of succinct information not hitherto available between the same two covers to my knowledge."–John Barkham, *Saturday Review Syndicate*. "As a guide or for reference, this is the finest one-volume compendium on the new Africa yet produced."–*Travel Magazine*. 6 new maps, 40 photos. $4.95



GOETHE'S FAUST has a perennial fascination for writers, artists and musicians; now a present-day poet, Stephen Spender, picks the new verse translation by **Walter Kaufmann** as "the best translation of 'Faust' that I have read" *(N. Y. Times Book Review)*. The new edition features the original German, and the English translation, on facing pages. $4.50

HOMER'S ODYSSEY has been newly translated by the distinguished American poet, **Robert Fitzgerald.** Horace Gregory *(N. Y. Times Book Review)* comments: "Only poets who have gifts for understanding the meaning of our classical heritage should be encouraged to translate the poetry of the ancient world. Only they can endow it with renewed life and meaning. Fitzgerald belongs to that rare company." Illus., $4.95

AT ALL BOOKSELLERS

Doubleday

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

role of the major Western powers in this story; what part did the United States play? Did the U.N. conduct its mission as skillfully as possible? What motivation led the Soviet leadership to commit itself in a most unfavorable situation? Of the two books, the smaller and less expensive one is by far the more significant: Legum answers nearly all of these questions, or at least provides a credible base from which to proceed to a satisfactory conclusion. Professor Merriam, an anthropologist who conducted extensive research in ethno-musicology in the Congo, approaches the subject of Congo politics as a layman, though an exceedingly well-informed one. The prime merit of his book lies in a detachment made possible by lack of personal involvement. Colin Legum lives and breathes African politics; he is part of it.

Merriam also provides, in the body of the text and in the appendix, substantial amounts of raw data which are of considerable value even if one disagrees with some of the interpretations attached to them. These include extensive quotations, excerpts from key documents, eye-witness accounts recorded by the author while on duty in the area, and such basic documents as the plaintive but historically most significant Manifesto of the *Conscience Africaine.* Also of special import are "Two Local Views" which convey graphically a point both authors agree upon—that the majority of the people in the Congo took no part in the recent dramatic events, that most of them continued peacefully their agricultural pursuits while headlines the world over screamed of chaos and turmoil. Incidentally, Legum offers evidence for a different picture of the alleged maltreatment of whites than has been put out by official Belgian sources.

Professor Merriam relies heavily on data, analyses and general commentaries distributed by *Inforcongo,* the official Belgian information agency for the Congo. Legum has this to say about that agency: ". . . the Belgians like almost everybody else, were completely taken in by *Inforcongo,* perhaps the most brilliant—and in some ways the most intelligent — propaganda machine ever created." It should be noted that *Inforcongo* has been for many years almost the only source of news and general information on the colony for the entire free world.

IT IS difficult to understand how a "background" study on the Congo can avoid discussing King Leopold II and his brutal regime in the Congo: it lasted twenty-three years and the effects of it will be imbedded in the national conscience of whatever unit eventually prevails in the former colony. Yet, Professor Merriam dismisses the entire period with the curt observation that it was "an era during which the Congo was *painted by outsiders* (italics supplied) as the worst possible example of brutality." Actually, and Legum goes into the matter at great length, those brutalities were not merely painted, they happened; and they were noticed not only by British, French, German and American observers, but by Belgians as well.

Both authors provide vivid evidence of the near-total confusion reigning in Belgian circles before, during and immediately following the grant of independence, but Legum goes considerably beyond Merriam in breaking down the Belgian state of mind into its components. He also makes a more successful stab at uncovering the motives of the rival political groups among the Europeans in Brussels and in the colony, the ambitions of the feuding factions within the Catholic hierarchy and those of the "grasping . . . Belgian financial interests which, even now [late in 1960] continue to behave as if their patron saint were King Leopold II."

LEGUM packs into 174 pages more relevant information, and new information at that, than one would have thought possible. He lays bare many facts that were suspected but not hitherto brought to the attention of the public—much of the information he uses has been public property for some time, but out of reach of the common reader, even in Belgium. Some extraordinary facts are brought to light. The Belgian financial empire formed a state within a state, not only in the Congo but also in Belgium. From that position, the more powerful among the business interests directed the affairs of both colony and mother country. No matter where they turned, the Congolese and the more liberal and progressive among the Belgians —including members of the much-maligned clergy — encountered the same forces.

A substantial part of Legum's indictment has been documented by the Parliamentary Commission sent to the Congo in 1959, by members of the opposition in Parliament, and by other observers on the spot. It is almost unbelievable how misled even the Belgian people had been concerning the state of *"notre colonie."*

Because of the long-term abuse and neglect—in particular neglect of the social, economic and political foundations without which there could be no self-government, in fact no orderly transfer of power—the advent of sovereignty produced confusion and panic, and these appear to have been primary causes of the Congo disaster. Professor Merriam, leaning over backwards, credits the Belgians with a desire to maintain "good

TREAT YOURSELF to an aesthetic sock on the nose, with

BALLADS TO GRIN BY

a book of narrative, satirical verse.

". . . great facility in rhyme . . . keen insight into the ironies of modern-day living. . . ."
—CARLOS BAKER

Hard cover — Limited Edition
Two Dollars, Postpaid
S. J. COPPOLA
86 Prospect Park West
Brooklyn 15, N.Y.

If you think . . .
That every religious journal is dull and reactionary, you haven't seen an issue of this 157-year-old liberal monthly.

The CHURCHMAN

"It is a burr under the robe of ecclesiastical smuggosity," said a distinguished bishop.

"The Churchman exemplifies perfectly the famous slogan of H. L. Nevinson, 'The older the bolder,'" wrote Freda Kirchway.

Serious but not solemn, it is edited for people with brains, commonsense, and open minds—people who in this erupting world are interested in the promotion of goodwill and better understanding among all peoples.

With a **10-month trial subscription for $3.00,** you will receive **free** the May issue containing **"Revolutionary Changes in Cuba—Reasons Why a Revolution Was Inevitable" by Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester,** contributing editor. Your first issue (June) will have a dynamic article, **"Danger in Foreign Policy Propaganda and Subversion" by Hester.**

—CLIP AND MAIL—
THE CHURCHMAN
1074 23rd Avenue N.
St. Petersburg, Fla.
Enclosed is my check for $3 for 10 months of The Churchman. The May issue will be sent to me as an extra.
Name.....
Address.....
City..... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

relations with the Congolese." But the Soviet leaders, suppressing the revolt in Hungary, also desired good relations. Who does not? Legum suggests that not only was there no agreement among Belgians on matters of general principle, but there also was no agreement concerning the practical terms upon which relations, any kind of relations, were to be maintained.

Today, Colonel Nasser, and with him Moscow and Peking, argue that political independence is only part of the birthright of the former colonial territories. Also coming to them, they argue ever so sanctimoniously, is economic independence. Before the Congo crisis broke, Lumumba complained: "They have agreed to talk at last, but they are not willing to give us the means to achieve independence." Legum offers strong support for the charge that the Belgians, whether deliberately or not, consistently refused to provide the new Congo regime with the means of national sustenance. And he is supported by critics in Belgium itself. "Neocolonialism" is what the leaders of the Afro-Asian bloc of radical states call the policy of setting states free in law, while continuing to control them economically.

Legum's analysis of the international ramifications of the crisis, though less incisive than the earlier parts of his book, nevertheless is of value. President Nkrumah of Ghana emerges more of a statesman than the goat that Secretary of State Herter sought to make of him during the Khrushchev session of the U.N. General Assembly. And the Soviet bear, attracted by the honey of "anti-colonialism," also appears to have blundered—along with the Belgians—into a most embarrassing situation. Of special interest to historians is Legum's conclusion concerning the extent to which Western and U.N. conduct may have justified Soviet intervention in the Congo. He rejects the Soviet thesis of a Western-U.N. conspiracy to defend the interests of colonialism. But he would concede that the Soviet Union, always quick to deny the West and the U.N. the benefit of the doubt, could easily have decided, on the strength of what at best may be called bizarre behavior on the part of these forces, that a conspiracy did indeed exist.

Cold Ash

HEAR US O LORD FROM HEAVEN THY RESTING PLACE. By Malcolm Lowry. J. B. Lippincott Co. 283 pp. $4.95.

George Steiner

MALCOLM LOWRY'S *Under the Volcano* endures by virtue of excess. The style of the book has a wild, baroque intensity. It is overwritten and, if there is such a thing, "overfelt." The emotions generated in the novel are brilliantly in excess of the quality of the characters or action. Like the marble in a Bernini statue, they take on a fierce, autonomous vitality. One remembers the shrill, cruel sadness of the book long after the incidents of the story have receded into chaos. Few young writers have ever been able to make of an early novel so exhaustive and memorable an aggregate of their total power and their total vision of life.

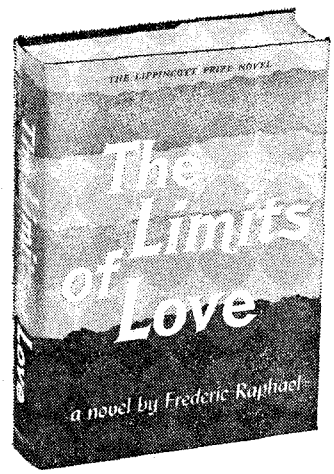
But that totality had its perils. One could have guessed that Lowry might find it difficult to carry on from his superb and consuming achievement. He himself appears to have felt this and spent the last ten years of his brief life trying to finish a new novel or a group of novels of which *Under the Volcano* would have been the center. Living on a lonely beach near Vancouver, he tried to reawaken in himself the stress of feeling which had made possible the incandescence of his early writing. There is no grimmer task for a writer than to try to meet his own standards. Lowry returned to England in 1957 and died suddenly, leaving only fragments.

They have now been gathered under Lowry's own, cumbersome title. These seven sketches do not form a coherent sequence. Several are loosely connected by the appearance in them of Sigbjorn Wilderness, Lowry's fictional persona. Some are independent narratives; others point to a larger design. They may best be understood as trials and assays from the workshop of a writer who was trying to escape from the confinement of his own success.

"Through the Panama" is the finest piece of work Lowry did after *Under the Volcano*. The journal of a trip from Canada, through the Canal to Europe in 1947, it is part lyric meditation and part narrative of seascape and tempest. It exhibits Lowry's marvelous sensuousness,

GEORGE STEINER, a free-lance writer, is the author of Tolstoy or Dostoevsky *and the recently published* The Death of Tragedy *(Knopf).*

High Praise for The Lippincott Prize Novel



"It is the strength of Mr. Raphael's book that it draws no arbitrary lines, insists on no fixed pattern of racial virtue. For Jew and (by implication) Gentile alike, he seems to be saying, life should mean love but also something more: that sense of community and fellowship on which, ultimately we must all draw . . . THE LIMITS OF LOVE is alive, powerful and rewarding, as a good novel should be."—JOHN HUTCHENS, *N.Y. Herald Tribune.*

"His story about what it means to be a Jew in England and what it means to be young and in love, is drenched in human warmth and vitality."—*Washington Star.*

"Mr. Raphael . . . has achieved a noble goal; to focus a little light on the dark question of purposeful existence."—*Boston Globe.*

"In a society where Jews are excluded, there is no choice but to cling to the ancient ways, but in a free society like that of Britain, how far should the British-born Jew go? It is this inner conflict which provides the theme of this vivid—passionately-felt story. . . . The problems which beset the Adlers . . . exist on both sides of the ocean, they are valid for American readers, too."—JOHN BARKHAM, *Saturday Review Syndicate.* $4.95

The Limits of Love

By FREDERIC RAPHAEL

Philadelphia **LIPPINCOTT** New York

Good Books Since 1792

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his capacity to fix and articulate sounds, colors and the flux of motion. Laboring under a 100-mile-an-hour gale, the *S.S. Diderot* ships "sea after sea of white drifting fire, after each smash the spume smoking mast high above the foremast-head light." But she ploughs through: "Dawn, and an albatross, bird of heaven, gliding astern."

The other sketches are mediocre. They are reminiscences of Lowry's married life and visit to Italy, thinly disguised. As if seeking to descend from his own heights, Lowry muted his style. The result is often gray and strained. At times the old note is struck: "the Valkyries of storm-drift" drive across "the ever re-clouding heavens." But Lowry had grown wary of his rhetorical gift. It is, therefore, doubtful that he would ever have forged these bits and pieces into a coherent novel. Volcanoes that blaze high leave little life around them.

RECORDS

Lester Trimble

A PAIR of new records from Composers Recordings, Inc. presents an interesting sampling of the work of two young and two elder American composers. Harrison Kerr's *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra* and Henry Cowell's *Symphony No. 7* are coupled on CRI-142. Both composers were born in 1897, the former in Cleveland, the latter in California. On CRI-141, 31-year-old Yehudi Wyner and 39-year-old Ralph Shapey are represented by a *Serenade for Seven Instruments* and *Evocation,* for violin, piano and percussion. Although this sampling is of high quality throughout, I am particularly impressed by the Shapey *Evocation* and by Harrison Kerr's concerto.

Kerr's work is of the most thoroughgoing seriousness, beautifully constructed and convincing at almost every turn. Kerr, who has been Dean of the College of Fine Arts at the University of Oklahoma since 1949, wrote the work in 1950-51 and revised it somewhat in 1956. It is an introverted piece, displaying an occasional resemblance to the Berg and Bartok violin concertos, but also having traits which are individual and distinctly American. Indeed, a distinguishing feature of this concerto is that, while most of its passages and textures are based in a style that is of middle-European origin, a number of interjections have a rhythmic and melodic flavor which comes unmistakably from the United States. The surprising thing is that it all blends together. Wolfgang Stavonhagen plays the solo part very convincingly (save for a spot or two in a cadenza), and William Strickland draws a splendid accompaniment from the Imperial Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in Tokyo.

ON the reverse side of this disk Henry Cowell's *Seventh Symphony* shows, like most of this composer's work, an easy-going, playful disposition, not pretending to any profound aesthetic purpose. The first movement is like Bach-Stokowski with rather casually placed wrong notes. The second could be used as travelogue music for any warm, leafy, mountainous country. The third is a Celtic jig, mixed with passages in a German developmental character. The fourth consists mostly of fughettas, casually turned out. There is certainly no "message" in this music, but it has an ingenuous charm and an attractively bright orchestral sound. William Strickland directs it, with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra.

Yehudi Wyner's *Serenade for Seven Instruments* was written in 1958, on a commission from the Friends of Music at Yale University where, in addition to Harvard and the Juilliard School of Music, this young composer studied. It is a delicately incised piece. The textures are contrapuntal; the lines are very clean. Webern, Schönberg and Stravinsky are the influences. After several hearings of this work, I have gained considerable respect for the composer's technical deftness and his sobriety. I am disturbed, however, by the lack of real inner meaning in the *Serenade;* it becomes more noticeable with each hearing. The gestures are correct almost to the point of being à la mode. The stylistic sources, though visible, are good. All techniques are well in hand. But I feel that the piece deals less with substance than with manner.

IN the Shapey *Evocation,* the situation is quite different. Though it is perfectly apparent that behind the style of this work lie the Bartok violin sonatas and those Bartok works which use percussion together with other instruments, Shapey achieves an exceedingly strong statement of his own. The work is pungent and condensed, honest, communicative. The *raison d'être* of this piece is clearly the transmission of strongly held ideas and strongly felt emotions. Manner and technique are subsidiary.

Shapey's writing for the violin uses the complete galaxy of technical resources developed by Bartok for that instrument. Dissonant intervals are basic, and the instrument is given idiomatic and yet fresh-sounding passage-work to play. His writing for percussion is plain and uncoloristic, being used for functional thematic and rhythmic purposes rather than for any cosmetic effect. The sense of form and of development through frank or subtle reiteration and variation is highly evolved. Hearing this work, I became still more certain that Shapey is one of our big talents. The *Evocation* is a good introduction to his music.

The performers in the Wyner *Serenade,* all top-flight, are Julius Baker, flute; Ralph Froelich, horn; Robert Nagel, trumpet; Keith Brown, trombone; Harry Zaratzian, viola; Charles McCracken, cello; and the composer, piano. Werner Torkanowsky conducts.

For the Shapey *Evocation,* the players are Matthew Raimondi, violin; Paul Price, percussion; and Yehudi Wyner, piano. Here again, the performance is exemplary, as is the recording quality.

DO YOU WRITE?

Do you write short stories, articles, books or plays? As one of the larger literary agencies in the country today, we are in the best position to handle your work for sale.

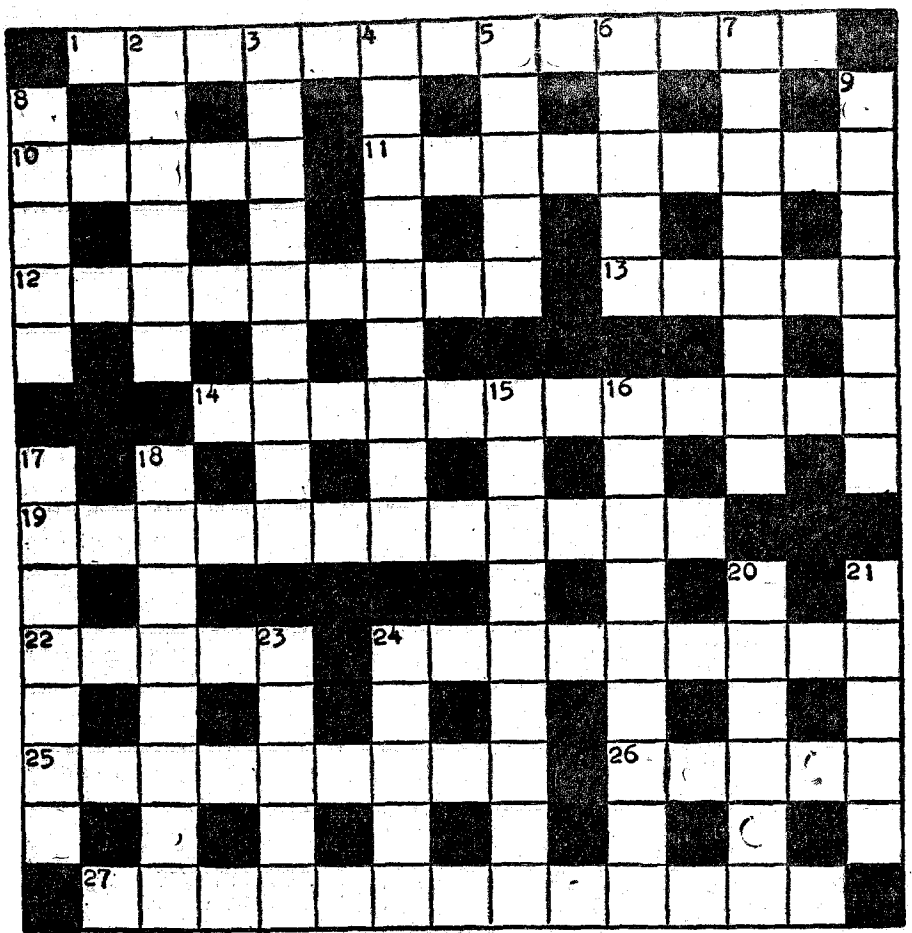
If you feel that your material has sales potential, we shall be glad to read, study and appraise it without preliminary fee. Send in your manuscript for free evaluation or write to us immediately for free literature!

DANIEL S. MEAD
Literary Agent, Dept. N
915 Broadway, New York 10, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 917

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 See 20 down

10 A famous little one of the 17's was this before it got tight. (5)

11 The belief in canine mother-love? (9)

12 Promisers, in a way, of the flowers that bloom in the spring? (9)

13 That thing held by the band? (5)

14 Life's staff may meet in them. (12)

19 Flag day? (City dwellers in particular move it up seasonally.) (8, 4)

22 It should be more than "a lick and a promise," as decks might be. (5)

24 Look over the abridged book, which only the brave might finish when rolled up. (9)

25 Might be found opposite to midair, etc. (9)

26 Descriptive of the genus Castor, as they say? (5)

27 The limit is used, I'd imagine, but what's the difference? (13)

DOWN:

2 Two drinks go to your head, evidently. (6)

3 Bury what's in 14, by the sound of it, as plants might be. (9)

4 Wither considered wasting this way? (2, 7)

5 Presses on. (5)

6 Steal out of it, but not very much. (5)

7 Disease found in professional men's hang-outs. (8)

8 Catches what the drummer has? (5)

9 Stamp — or added to this, it could make 12. (7)

15 To Caliban, it might be associated with plants. (9)

16 Not solemn, but rather sleepy. (9)

17 Favored mortals were destined for those of the Blessed. (7)

18 False hair a man associated with a ruler. (8)

20 and 1 across Going it alone when it comes to carpets? (6, 13)

21 Looks as though these should be equal! (5)

23 Tips, but not of the toes. (5)

24 Rebound. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 916

ACROSS: 1 Reforestation; 10 Deflect; 11 Thereto; 12 Centigram; 13 Nadir; 14 Tenant; 16 Assonant; 19 Dalesman; 20 and 22 down Standstill; 22 Tiger; 23 Traceable; 25 Leeward; 26 Science; 27 Instantaneous. DOWN: 2 Elfin; 4 Extort; 5 Totemism; 6 The end of the line; 7 Overdrawn; 8 Educated; 9 and 3 Your obedient servant; 15 Nile green; 17 Tasseled; 18 Mastodon; 21 Cassia; 24 Bantu.

RESORTS

MERRIEWOODE
HIGHLAND LAKE, STODDARD, N. H.
Suggest that if you must have intelligent companionship, great beauty of environment, good food and plentiful, and things to do, **MERRIEWOODE** has them all to give.
We pledge all our facilities which include just about everything, to the success of your most important holiday.
Opens July 1 ● Non-sectarian
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
The Ruxton, 50 West 72 St., New York 23
Tel.: SU 7-0500

ONLY 50 MILES FROM N.Y.C.
Beautiful 8 mile lake. Golf at a magnificent Country Club. Dancing. Entertainment. Superb Cuisine. Fireproof Bldg. Elevator. Special "single" weekends. Group facilities. In New York City call at local rate.
FAirbanks 5-7227
MAhopac 8-3449
FOREST house
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

WINDY HILL **ON ORANGE LAKE**
Open May 26
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Records, books. Summer Theatre. Golf nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. $55.00 Weekly; $8.00 Daily; Weekend: Fri. Supper thru Sun. Dinner $16.
Tel. Newburgh: JO 2-1232
Jane C. Arenz, R.D. Box 160, Walden, N.Y.

SUMMER RENTALS

YEAR-ROUND HOUSE
Completely furnished • Study • Large Living-Room • Dining Room • Kitchen • 3 Bedrooms • 2 Baths • Separate maid's room and bath • Powder room.
Outdoor terraces. Beautifully landscaped, views, secluded. Convenient to fishing, golf. No swimming.
Five miles north of Lake Mahopac. Less than 1½ hrs. drive from mid-Manhattan.
Rent entire summer $2000 — or consider sale.
Box 502, c/o The Nation

CANAAN, N. Y. Furnished 2 bedroom house. Scenic rural setting. 20 minutes Tanglewood. Ideal vacation and weekends. Unusual opportunity. **CHatham 5-5012 (evenings). Box 500, c/o The Nation.**

BREWSTER. 55 miles from N.Y. Charmingly furnished studio barn, 24x15 two story living room, fireplace, 3 bedrooms, modern kitchen and bath, porch, views, lovely grounds, 1 acre swimming pond, near fishing and golf. Long season. **BRewster 9-4257.**

PERSONALS

HUMANISM—THE UNIFYING MOVEMENT FOR FREE MINDS!
Ethical, humanitarian; based on natural and social sciences; nonpolitical, nonsupernatural. **Interested? AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION** welcomes you; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for 3 month trial membership, or $5 for year, to:
American Humanist Association
Dept. N1 Yellow Springs, Ohio

WANTED CO-VENTURERS without sectarian affiliations for new independent mass appeal publication of iconoclastic political satire—an American counterpart of Paris "Canard Enchainé." Write to: **Box 501, c/o The Nation.**

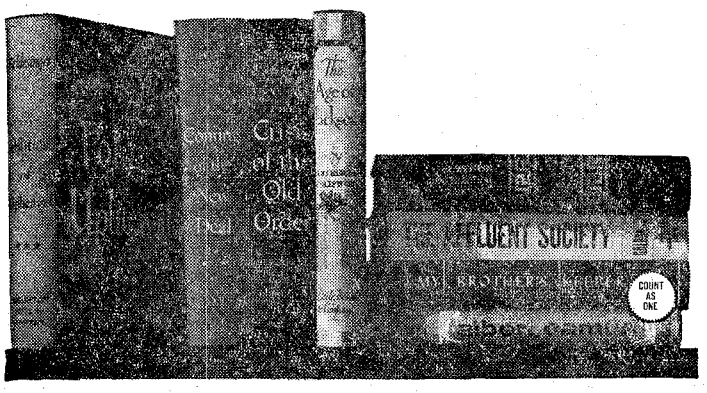
IMPORTED TYPEWRITER, deluxe features including front tabulator key. Regular value $149.95 — **SPECIAL $67.50, plus federal tax.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (nr. 14th St.), N.Y. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking.**

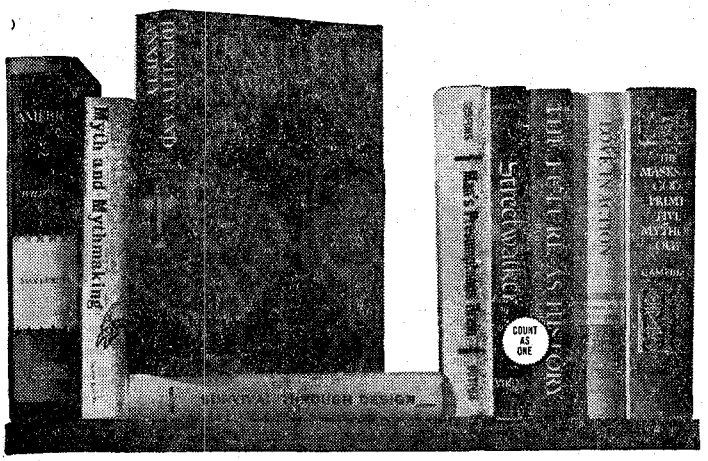
Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

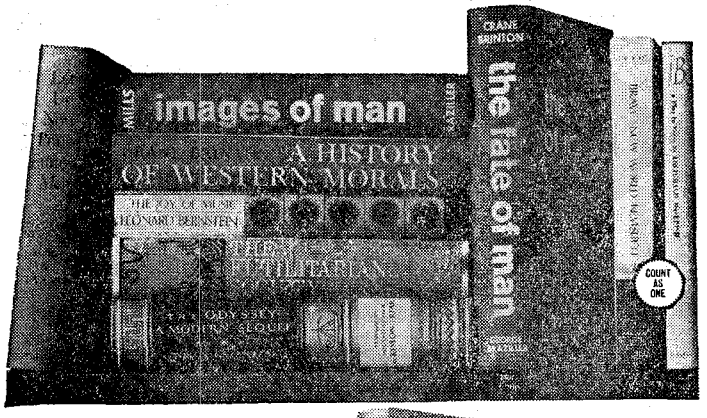
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

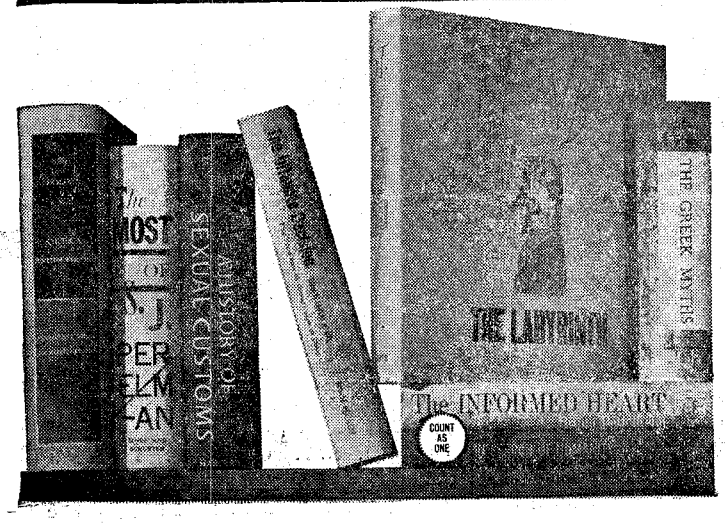
Any 3 Books FREE

WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION (SAVINGS UP TO $34.55)









SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE! Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club are different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits and privileges of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection. Since several are dual selections*, you may acquire **as many as 8 books** in this way.

CONVENIENCE. Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want.

AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%. As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $34.55.**

BONUS BOOKS. When your initial commitment is fulfilled, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

Recent Book Find Club Selections

The Labyrinth, Saul Steinberg. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Sophocles, Aquinas, Spencer, Nietzsche, Engels, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Kluckhohn, Shapley, Rosenberg, Huxley, and others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Politics of Upheaval, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.95.

The Crisis of the Old Order, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.50.

The Coming of the New Deal, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.75.

The Age of Jackson, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.50. Member's price $3.95.

* **J. B.,** Archibald MacLeish; and **Brave New World Revisited,** Aldous Huxley. A dual selection. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.50.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Futilitarian Society, William J. Newman. A comprehensive view and indictment of American conservatism — from William H. Chamberlain to Russell Kirk and Clinton Rossiter. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.

The Western Intellectual Tradition: From Leonardo to Hegel, J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Lippmann, Marx, Engels, Veblen, Weber, Spencer, and many others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

America as a Civilization, Max Lerner. Retail $10.00. Member's price $4.95.

The Ultimate Decision: The President as Commander in Chief, Ernest R. May. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.75.

* **My Brother's Keeper,** Stanislaus Joyce; and **Albert Camus: The Invincible Summer,** Albert Maquet. Combined retail price $8.75. Member's price (for both books) $4.50.

Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society. A massive compendium of studies by Margaret Mead, C. Wright Mills, Harold Rosenberg, I. A. Richards, Geoffrey Gorer, Irving Howe, Karl Jaspers, and many more. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.

The Greek Myths, Robert Graves, Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.75.

Myth and Mythmaking, edited by Henry Murray. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.

The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel, Nikos Kazantzakis. Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95.

The Golden Age of American Anthropology, edited by Margaret Mead and Ruth Bunzel. Retail $10.00. Member's price $4.95.

A History of Western Morals, Crane Brinton. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.50.

The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology, Joseph Campbell. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.

A History of Sexual Customs, Dr. Richard Lewinsohn. Illustrated. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.50.

The Joy of Music, Leonard Bernstein. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95.

* **Streetwalker,** Anonymous; and **The Future as History,** Robert Heilbroner. Combined retail price $7.50. Member's price (for both books) $4.50.

The Most of S. J. Perelman. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95.

Love in Action: The Sociology of Sex, Dr. Fernando Henriques, Illustrated with 39 photographs and 27 in-text line drawings. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.75.

Survival Through Design, Richard Neutra. Retail $6.75. Member's price $3.95.

Man's Presumptuous Brain, Dr. A. T. W. Simeons. Retail $5.75. Member's price $4.50.

* **The Informed Heart: Autonomy in a Mass Age,** Bruno Bettelheim; and **In Search of Humanity,** Alfred Cobban. Combined retail price $9.50. Member's price (for both books) $5.50.

***Two books counting as one selection**

THE BOOK FIND CLUB

215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, N. Y.

You may enroll me as a member of the Book Find Club and send me the three free books of my choice with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to take at least four additional selections—or alternates—in the next twelve months. When my initial commitment has been fulfilled, I will be entitled to a **free bonus book** of my own choosing after every third selection that I take. I am to receive each month without charge the **Book Find News** containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at special member's prices. This will enable me to make my own choice: if I do not want the selection announced I can return your form saying "send me nothing" or use it to order another book from the more than 100 current choice titles offered. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional selections or alternates.

B61-58-2

First Selection _____

Free Books 1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss _____ *Please print full name*

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

(Same offer and prices apply in Canada. Address: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ontario)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED